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'No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away.'—MILTON.

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ART. I.—*The Bengal Gradation List*, 1860.

THE removal of the quasi-empire of the Court of Directors, a Board which stood so long between British Empire and British India, has given to the people of Britain an uninterrupted view of the people of India, for whose welfare they are now directly responsible. And, although Parliament may still turn a deaf ear to any one, who endeavours to check profligate jobbing on the part of whig Secretaries of State, yet there are not wanting indications that the habitual good feeling and sense of duty of JOHN BULL will lead him, ere long, to turn his attention to the management of the fine, but embarrassed estate which he has inherited from JOHN COMPANY. The servants who acquired and managed the estate referred to, will, very naturally, be taken to task pretty closely for any shortcomings on their part which may have injured the tenants, or affected the amount of the rents. It may, ultimately, be found, that they have for the most part done their work well and wisely, unless overborne by interference from the Great House; but it may also be thought that they had become fat and lazy on high pay, and a too hereditary routine of succession and promotion.

At any rate the Indian Civil Service is likely to undergo some amount of change, and three plans present their claims to attention.

1st. Do away with the Monopoly as regards the "Uncovenanted," i. e. let every man in the service of the Indian Government hold any office; this has been partly done in Oudh and the Punjab.

2nd. Do away with the Monopoly altogether, and let Candidates, either from England or from any other part of the Empire, be appointed to Civil posts in India, as to Consulships and Colonial posts.

3rd. Retain the Monopoly, with or without modifications, as regards the administrative service; but give purely judicial posts to trained Lawyers.

1st. There are Indian officials here and there, whose exclusion from a full career is as bad for the public as for themselves. These should be treated like deserving non-commissioned officers in the army; presented with covenants. This was recommended by Mr. H. Ricketts, a Member of the Civil Service, who had largely studied the subject.

2nd. The complete destruction of administrative Monopoly is the plan which has most arguments (of an abstract kind) in its favor; and which is the most open to practical objections. Indian administration is as much a profession as Medicine or Law; its practice therefore equally demands a diploma for the protection of the public. Whenever an inefficient diploma-holder finds his way into the profession, by all means let him be discouraged and sparingly employed; but you gain nothing by allowing uncertificated persons to be inflicted on an unprotected public, at the caprice of men in power, either here or at Home.

3rd. The chief complaints against the present servants are on judicial grounds, and they are, in this respect, tried in a way no body of men could stand. No one denies that they are courageous, energetic rulers; many of them benevolent; and a large proportion efficient in a way that may be rough, but is not unsuited to rough duties. But, partly through the action of the Legislature,* and partly through the customs of a people long inured to despotism, and prone to seek in litigation the exercise of enmity denied to open force, the Magistrates of India have become vested with a far too large amount of equitable jurisdiction, over the persons and property of the people. If a man is ousted from land, or deprived of his wife by a seducer, or if his servants leave him, or his labourers fail in their engagements; instead of suing for damages in a Civil Court, he comes before the *Hakim*, ("the protector of the poor," &c.) and prays that there may be an injunction issued for the fulfilment of the contract. Now it is obvious that this system is easily abused. Those who are most anxious to obtain an injunction from a foreigner, living at a distance from the scene, and immersed in much of the business which in England is shared between the Parson, the Squire, the Poor Law Guardian, the Land Bailiff, the Trustee of Roads, and the Sheriff of the County; those will not be always the men who have a real grievance. When it is also remembered that the people have a strong social organisation of their own, and that the method of redress by caste arbitration is an ancient institution of the Country, there will be no difficulty in understanding, that the desire to injure an enemy may as often influence the Plaintiff on the

* Act VII of 1819, IV of 1840 &c.

Magistrate's "Miscellaneous File," as a real sense of wrong. That description of Plaintiff, who passes by the public opinion of his village or his brotherhood to refer to a remote alien, is either wrong or an unusually oppressed individual. In the infant constitution of the Punjab, the ignorant impartiality of the European officer was united with the better information of the less trusted Panchayat; and the Magistrate was at liberty, either to arbitrate a case himself or to call in the aid of local opinion. This appears an excellent theory: if it does not work well in practice, the only alternative certainly appears to be, to take all judicial power, not of a purely correctional character, from the administrative department, and vest it entirely in the hands of men especially trained and selected for the Bench. That all these officers should be Barristers is not likely, though the proposal is not a wonderful one, considering that the agitation had its origin in Calcutta, where the learned Supreme Court Bar has always produced very active contributors, both to the speech making at Calcutta meetings, and to the leading articles of the Calcutta Newspapers. There is no peculiar divinity hedging the character of a Barrister, who may be as ignorant as any Layman. And seeing that the codes of India differ and are likely to differ from the barbarous congeries of precept and precedent—Bentham's "Grimgribber"—which the forensic hierarchy contrives to hold together in England, it does not appear why English Barristers, even from the Supreme Court, should enjoy any peculiar claims as of right, to seats on the Indian Bench. Moreover it is only the higher posts which would offer much inducement to men of that class, unless indeed we are to be inundated with the whole of the worthless and the briefless of the British Bar. The correct theory would undoubtedly be, to let the Pleaders of the united Courts, which are now understood to be on the eve of formation, have the right to the lower appointments, the holders of these being gradually promoted to the higher.

The administrative service must always be, in practice, a distinct profession. How the selections are to be made for it will greatly depend upon *whether India is to be a colony or not*. This is not a question of what is desirable, but of what is feasible. If it is possible to make India a Colony, it is no doubt desirable that her affairs should be administered on a colonial plan; but obviously all objections to the present system, on the score of its being ill-suited to a Colony, are the merest begging of the question. The existing system is historically known to be founded on the opposite theory. Into whatever extremes the policy of the

Court of Directors may at any time have led them, and whatever reproaches may be brought against them for the discouragements they offered to Christianity, or to immigration of Europeans; whatever preference they may have given in the lower grades of their service to Asiatics, or whatever privileges they may have attached to the class of Europeans who filled the superior offices; the whole is referable to the feeling that India was a foreign *Dependency*, occupied by tribes possessing each a civilisation and a religion of its own, in whose interest it was to be ruled by whomsoever the trust might be reposed in. Thus arose the principle of native administration and European control; and though it is not difficult to amass proofs that the former has been corrupt and the latter lax, yet it will be premature to dwell on that until you have proved, either that a *Dependency* of the sort described can be otherwise ruled, or else that colonisation is feasible. The burthen of proof as regards the latter point, at least, is clearly laid on those who impugn existing results. To such as, in spite of all the evidence, hold that Englishmen can colonise a tropical country, densely peopled by races in legal possession of every foot of land, and whose frugality and acclimation enables each of their members to live on one-third of what is required for the support of an Englishman of corresponding position, it is sufficient to say, "Come and try." No one now keeps them out; it is absurd to say that the state of the Courts or the feeling of the authorities deters them; for instances can be shown all over India, and in Countries far more despotically governed, of Englishmen who make large fortunes and reside in peace. Assuming then that colonisation, on a large scale, and in the strict sense of the word, is impossible, we have the simple question left; can a foreign *Dependency* be fairly and beneficially ruled by England, unless the indigenous residents play a large part in the administration; and unless the superior morality and political science, of which she is supposed to be the depositary, be constantly infused into that administration, by the control of carefully selected and largely trusted Englishmen.

Two important observations may, no doubt, be made, one upon each branch of this question. It may be said that Asiatic underlings are apt to be corrupt and tyrannical. It may also be said, that the Members of the Civil Service, though better selected now than formerly, still fail in Anglicising the administration. But there is ~~no~~ system in this imperfect world to which similar objections may not be made: pessimism is as bad as optimism; the MORAL of faults being proved against an established working system is, that *they* should be removed, not the *system*. for

which you have no proved substitute. Granting that there is considerable force in each observation, their united weight will not prove that the system must be destroyed; it is the very foppery of politics to require abstract perfection, and object to every thing existing, merely because it is capable of improvement.

The few thousands of Planters, and Merchants, Barristers and Attorneys, Wine dealers and Italian ware-housemen, who find it profitable to pursue their respective and respectable callings in this Country, are not justly entitled to be considered "the Public of India;" nor can the Newspapers, conducted with various ability, for their amusement, be justly treated as its "Press." The administration of India, if such authorities are to be consulted, should be carried on through the medium of Europeans, exclusively or almost so. We have already endeavoured to see how far this would be just to the people of the Country, in whose interest it is assumed that we are to rule. (And this, even supposing that the service would attract a sufficient number of qualified Europeans.) If, on the contrary, we could obtain genuine native Public opinion, (the opinion of the educated classes is what is usually understood by the term,) we should assuredly find that the exclusion of natives from the posts of greatest power and rank would be very severely felt as a grievance. The present system steers a middle path between the two. Its object is to give to the educated native a fair career in the public service, for which he is so well fitted by intimate knowledge of the dialects and institutions of the masses; while to the latter it gives such protection against the corruptibility and the openness to prejudice and partiality which must adhere to a native official, as may be afforded by the supervision of a carefully selected class of chief officers, whose appointments, though costing the state but little in the aggregate from their numerical paucity, are yet sufficiently valuable to those who hold them, to call forth their best intellectual and moral energies.

Of all the opponents of this system the ablest and most consistent is the present editor of the *Hurkaru*. This writer, in his issue of the 27th October 1860, had an article, which, though containing many assertions from which we dissent, is terminated by a very sensible proposal: we refer chiefly to the following words; "If the Government desire that its work should be done as well as it is at Home they" (Query "it"?) "must recognise the * * * division of labour, and make allowances for natural differences of talent and that aptitude which is the fruit of experience. A civilian of the present day is a Jack of all trades, and consequently

botches every work entrusted to him. * * * Under the present system before any official can make himself acquainted with his ordinary duties in one department he is removed to another, the duties of which are as dissimilar as those of a Physician and a Stock Broker. But 'if it were understood that in future officials would be confined to that department for the work of which they showed a particular aptitude, men would be encouraged to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with what was to be henceforth the business of their lives."

Now the assumption, that no division of labour is attempted by the Government, appears to us an exaggeration. On the frontier we have the brilliant Military Governors of whom so many have made their names household words wherever the English language is spoken. Sir H. Lawrence, Sir H. Edwardes, and General Nicholson were never to our knowledge, offered the post of Sudder Judge or Financial Secretary, and the Magistrates and Collectors of the North Western Provinces usually spend twenty years in the administrative branch of the Service, and even when made Judges it is mainly for correctional purposes; there is however too much foundation for the Hurkaru's strictures as contained in our extract; and all attempts that are made to reform the Civil administration of British India should proceed in the direction indicated therein. At the commencement of these remarks, for instance, it was shown that India not being at present a Colony, ought not to be treated on Colonial principles. But on the other hand there are parts of India, few and of small area, which *are* essentially colonial. Those which are most conspicuously so, are the Presidency towns, and there, to a considerable extent, colonial methods already exist. Similarly, in all towns where there is a seat of Government there might be a small *cordon*, within which English laws should be administered in Criminal and Civil cases by trained lawyers. But this remedy of "trained lawyers" is no *panacea*. What would be the use of a trained lawyer among the tribes of the Khyber, or even in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, where almost every dispute is about a boundary or a herd of cattle, susceptible of ready arbitration by an honest man of local experience, utterly unintelligible to an ordinary foreigner whatever be his legal acumen? That is to say, the management of a rude tribe requires qualifications differing from those needed to decide an intricate question of bailment.

It may ~~be~~ objected that this is a bald commonplace, but it cannot be denied that it is one that has been more generally recognised by the rulers of India than by their opponents—and every division of labor in which it is ignored will fail. The

Government of India has had a separate set of officers for frontier Districts, for interior Districts, and for political duties; and the appearance of confusion may be a good deal traced, to the custom of requiring every Civil Officer to matriculate as an assistant to a District Officer; than which, however, it would be difficult to devise a plan, better suited to give young officers a practical knowledge of, and interest in the people, with whose affairs they are more or less to be connected by the "business of their lives;" and the men who would let loose the Inns of Court upon such a field, would certainly not obtain "the advantages of a division of labor," any more than they would "open the Civil Service." The division of labor is a very good term, and may be very beneficially applied as far as circumstances permit. That it is not applicable without reserve to European labor in India, will be gathered from observing the fact that, in India, Milliners usually deal in wine and gunpowder; and that Newspapers are often conducted by persons who begun life in other ways. But those who think labor can be divided by the exclusive employment of "trained lawyers," must be either enthusiasts without brains, or barristers without practice.

It may be objected to the Indian Government's "division of labor," that Henry Lawrence and the other distinguished men above referred to were not members of the Civil Service. For the present purpose, however, they *were* so; that is they were covenanted officers in Civil employ; and it is very possible, that the Civil Service might be largely regenerated, if the officers for administrative duties were selected from the staff of the Army, to a far greater extent than is at present the case. If the Punjab scheme of administration could then be applied to the Mofussil generally, and a good Civil Code be launched with the new Penal Code; a sound system of procedure in each department, and a reformed Police being added, there would be little fear for the forensic future of the Rural Districts. The colonial portions of the empire might have any amount of "trained lawyers" that they were pleased to pay for, and if any man envied such privileges he might be allowed, under due restrictions, to indulge his eccentric taste by a writ of *certiorari*. The majority would probably be of a mind with those Spanish Americans, mentioned by Mr. Helps, who petitioned the Court of Madrid, that "no lawyers might be sent to the Colony." It is to be noted further that Administrative Reform is no new thing in India. Her rulers have not, it is true, introduced an "open" Legislative Council or Parliament, in which Calcutta shopkeepers should have the power of paralyzing the action of Government, and Planters be enabled to reduce their ryots

to the condition of Gibeonites: and surely the instance of New Zealand, where agrarian questions are at length being settled by the primitive arbitrament of force, is a very good ground for congratulating the rulers of India, on their not having introduced colonial principles of Government into a country, which we hold on such a very uncolonial basis.

But, once allow that the administration of British India must, for the present, be based on despotic principles and carried out through official agency, and it cannot be denied, that with the single exception of destroying the covenant, every thing that could be called a bar to administrative Reform has now been removed. This covenant is, in fact, a commission. Men are induced to leave the arduous paths of life in Europe by the guarantee of certain advantages in point of rank and remuneration in Indian exile, in order that the pedantry and narrow knowledge of a bureaucracy may be tempered, and its corruptibility checked by the constant influx of the best blood of England—speaking of course, in a metaphorical, not in a patrician sense. It is exceedingly easy to shew objections to this plan; the political danger of closing the higher ranks against the Natives of the country, the hardship of arresting the career of the man who has risen from the ranks, and most of all the grave possibility (to say the least) of indolence being generated in the minds of the favored few who have received the above mentioned guarantee. But the instance of Russia, where every official rises from the ranks, and where official corruption and *esprit de corps* are crippling the gigantic forces of the empire, may serve to shew that an escape from these evils is worth buying at a considerable price. In point of fact this price has been gradually diminishing of late years. From the constitution of the highly paid and carefully trained Civil Service by Lord Wellesley, down to the introduction of the competitive system by Lord Stanley, a little more than half a century elapsed, during which the Service produced a few very black sheep, a certain number of average men, and sufficient great hearts and minds to consolidate an empire, which was the admiration of every foreigner who visited it, until ruined by Reforming sentimentality and Foreign office intrigue. To the Civil Service of those days we owe the political successes of Metcalfe, Jenkins and Elphinstone, which gave us internal peace for nearly forty years; the patient investigation of Holt Mackenzie, R. M. Bird and Thomason, crowned by the most complete knowledge and record of agricultural customs, rights and tenures; the liberality of F. Shore, the learning of Elliott, and finally the splendid services of the Great Mutiny, when a Native Army, wrought to Prætorian insolence by the result of

wars the Indian administration disapproved, and indulgences they were powerless to prevent, was put down partly by the unlooked for aid of the local officers—typified by John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery—of whom in one Presidency (the North Western Provinces) one-third died at their posts, while the survivors did wonders with scarcely a soldier on whom they could rely.

There were grievous faults in the old Service; many of the young officers lived for years, a life of idleness and extravagance from which sometimes nothing could set them free. Still lives the memory of Paddy H—s, who passed twenty-five years of service in journeying to and fro between Calcutta and London, with an occasional trip to Simla, and who never got beyond an Assistantship in the Customs; of—who passed his quarter of a century in College, and retired on his annuity without having ever “passed,” or done an hour’s work; of—who went to Court stark naked, acquitted murderers, kept his English records on the floor, and was finally removed by a troop of horse; of the Customs Agent at Ghazee-pore, who “cut” Lord Hastings for only giving him £7000 per annum, in recompense for his signing R. B. B. on *rowanas* for half an hour while pulling his first *chillum* after breakfast, and who obstinately refused to write any thing but his initials unless his pay was increased; — but why multiply instances when the result is before us? “The Empire of the Middle Classes” remains, after all the shocks it has sustained, still sound, still an unexampled proof of the administrative skill and virtue of Englishmen. Where is the Roman Proconsulship, the Spanish Conquest in America which can compare with her? or who that has seen French Algeria would prefer the system prevailing there? Moreover such as the old service was, it has passed away, and it is not only idle but unfair to rake up objections against what has ceased to be, merely because you want a share of the lucrative posts, or think your commercial enterprises would prosper better if there were no administration but what you pleased. The few enthusiasts and the many malcontents, who from different grades of obscurity clamour against the existing state of things, are not raising their voices against the system which formed British India, and won the applause of Macaulay and Peel in England, as it did that of the best informed travellers of every rank from the Prince to the Printer, from Petersburg to Paris; but they are finding fault with a Service open to public competition from the best educated sons of the great Universities of Britain, and with the freest system under which any official organisation at all could be imagined as feasible.

A late number of the "Quarterly Review" contained a strong and carefully reasoned condemnation of the English competitive system, but carefully excepted that in the Indian Services. And indeed the faults of the two are as different as the conditions under which they act. The English competition is offered to men whose destinies will be humble and their salaries low, the higher posts being, by common consent, disposed of on very different grounds. The Indian competition, on the other hand, is intended to form a guide for selection of men, who will begin their public life with large powers over the persons and property of vast communities; while they may possibly end them as Pro-consuls of Provinces, or Prime Ministers of Empires. Obviously the objections brought against the competitive system for producing an article superior to its ends, and making men discontented with the nature of their duties, ought to be brought rather against the English than against the Indian system. But a writer in the *Saturday Review** has brought a charge against the competitive principle, which applies with greater force to that for the Indian administrative service than to that by which Clerks or Tidewaiters are selected in England. "Competitive examinations" says he "are under our present system the great motive power of all systems of education, and the desire to excel in them is accordingly strongest in the sort of mind which is naturally inclined to set a high value on juvenile successes. This is not a very good turn of mind. It implies a certain preciseness and formality of character, and a constant inclination to defer to established authority, and to attach great importance to the express approbation of recognised superiors. It follows from all this that competitive examinations are fit only for boys or lads, and that even with respect to them, they test only the lower kinds of merit, whilst all the higher qualities—originality, independence, and love of knowledge for its own sake—are positive disqualifications for success in them."

Now, whatever requirement there may exist in the English Clerkships for the higher kinds of merit here enumerated, must exist in a far stronger form, when the duties to be entrusted to the candidate are of such a far higher character as are those of Indian administration. Nay more, not only are such qualities unlikely to be successful in a competitive examination, but the advanced age at which the candidates are admitted to the Indian examinations has a special drawback of its own. It has been shewn that even under the old system a large proportion of the officers turned out good, and some were of the most splendid merit.

But this is not all; the old Civilians passed through a respectable test examination before entering Hailesbury, and while there had at least the option of obtaining a very high training under able and eminent teachers: but it is noteworthy, that some of the very best of Indian statesmen, Munro, Malcolm, Sleeman and Outram were officers of the army who had been chosen by haphazard, and received no preliminary training whatever. This can only be accounted for by the doctrine of *chances*; amongst a number of untried youths there must always be a certain number who possess latent abilities of the most brilliant kind. A competition set before men of twenty three years of age *actually eliminates this element*: at that age the candidate has completed, or almost completed that academic career by which young Englishmen test the relative powers of themselves and their contemporaries; and it will obviously not be those of first class qualities and attainments who will quit an opening career in England, for the questionable attractions of hard work and exile in a vile climate and amongst a vile race.

So far therefore as a branch of Indian administration demands special acquirements it may be better to make it a special service, than to continue to select its members from a general staff of officers, however open be the field of selection, and however carefully guarded the door of admission. For the department of account, for instance in which the Civilians are generally considered to have most failed, it might be well if all promotion went in the line, and if the entrance were merely barred by a special examination in financial subjects, Indian and general. With regard to the judicial line, it has been shewn above that the duties in outlying provinces are chiefly correctional, and those familiar with the subject will admit, that among our ruder populations even Civil justice is more a matter of administrative ability than of legal detail; but there are Benches in India to which forensic experience and nicety of adjudication should be the only passports. This has long been conceded by the institution of Supreme Courts with jurisdiction classified into Criminal, Civil, Equitable, Ecclesiastical and Admiralty, in the Presidency towns. These courts are about to be amalgamated with the unchartered Courts of the old system, and it will be a great step should a special standard of fitness be henceforth adopted for all benches, on which, from the intricate character of litigation or the presence of large European communities, a jurisprudence of a complete kind is requisite.

But for preservation of peace among rough agriculturists, or ignorant inhabitants of Bazars, for the repression of violent crime,

the management of a complicated revenue system interwoven with the land, for all the rough work of rough societies, originality, independence, and energetic integrity should be the qualities chiefly, if not solely, demanded. These qualities may be possessed by men who enter the service late in life, and certainly competition is better than jobbery; but no men, who have discovered qualities such as were found in some of the old civilians, are likely to come into the Indian Service. Southey refused a writership at seventeen! and when he had no prospect of a maintenance, but what he could expect from the abilities of which he may have been precociously conscious:—the words which follow will be found in a Letter inserted in the first volume of his Life. “A man who feels must be in solitude there [in India]. Yet the comfort is that your wages are certain; so many years of toil for such a fortune at last. Is a young man wise who devotes the best years of his life to such a speculation?” Southey replied in the negative, and matters have not changed for the better since, the “wages” being no longer “certain,” nor “a fortune” usually made “at last;” while the chance of seeing your wife and children butchered, and of having to turn soldier at a moment’s notice, is added to the certainty of a debilitating climate and rapidly rising prices. These are the inducements held out to induce first class men to abandon their college fellowships, or their prospects in Westminster Hall.

But the case is widely different if you turn to younger men. Few lads of seventeen have the foresight of Southey, and the history of the past shews that the mere attraction of a red coat and a life of adventure will lead them in shoals to the uttermost parts of the earth. Now, if the principle of competition be extended from its new limits, of examinations, to its natural broad basis of active life, there seems no reason why the administrative service of India should not be recruited better than has ever yet been done—without destroying one advantage or withholding one guarantee—simply by taking its members from among those military officers who, after a certain period of regimental duty, shall be willing to give satisfactory proofs of their fitness, and to forego the future steps of military promotion. *Sic fortis Etruria crevit*; such has been the system which has made the Punjab the model Province of British India, which produced Nicholson and Lumsden, Lake and Edwardes, which enabled Sir John Lawrence to destroy the mutinous sepoys, or chain them up like beaten hounds, while he sent the whole of his available forces to wrest a falling empire from their triumphant brethren in Delhi. Nor must the “Uncovenanted servants” be forgotten. Many of these in the Punjab are men of good

English blood and education, attracted and retained by the knowledge that in that part, at any rate, of the Indian empire, there is no bar to a successful career. Several of these Gentlemen have been placed in charge of Districts, and it would be a manifest injustice to exclude them any longer from any advantages of position, that may be enjoyed by their Covenanted or Commissioned brethren. Our scheme, then, for administrative reform is simple, as regards the majority of those lower but most important and responsible posts, by means of which the business of the country is carried on.

Two subjects of greater dignity, though not, it may be, of superior usefulness remain to be briefly noticed. The Legislative Council, and the Executive Cabinet of the Viceroy. A claim has been set up in several quarters, that as all classes in British India are now taxed, all classes should be represented in the legislature. To this there are several answers, each of which is perhaps sufficient of itself, but of which the accumulative force is surely irresistible to any impartial mind. The argument derived from abstract rights will hardly convince any one in this practical age. As Dr. Arnold (no friend of tyranny,) long ago observed "the correlative of Taxation is not Representation but Protection." No country could be governed for a day without a revenue, and the means of raising a revenue without taxation are yet to be discovered. Of all the duties of Governments the most generally recognised is the protection of life and property, while the states which are really governed by Representation may be counted on the fingers. A representative government is clearly a matter of expediency, the forms which suit one time or one place being unsuitable—often impossible—for the same place at different times, or for the same time in different places. The burthen of proof is therefore laid upon those who contend that British India is at present in a condition requiring representative Government. In point of fact, it is probably felt by such advocates that the Natives of the country would either not attend the council, or in such a feeble character as to be easily borne down by the representatives of the "European community," that is by a certain number of unsuccessful men of business converted into paid demagogues. And what would be the action of such delegates? Is it not certain from all that we know of human nature, and from the consistent behaviour of the more active and noisy of that class for the past hundred years, that their chief aim in life would be to impede the action of the executive and to vilify its agents? And what practical result would be likely to come from such a course of conduct? If they could not produce a change of ministers,

could they produce any thing but a dead lock and stoppage to business never too famous for rapidity?

This brings us to the second question, the constitution of the Executive. Obviously a representative assembly can control the entire administration of a country, if by withdrawing support and confidence it renders necessary the substitution of new men in the posts held by persons who, under the name of Secretaries or Ministers, transact the business of the various Departments. But how would this work in a country where every Department is a profession in itself, of which the Head, for the time being, is or ought to be selected on account of an official fitness acquired and guaranteed by years of professional practice? Only conceive the new Executive which might be called into being by the action of a Liberal majority in the Legislature. If putting aside these factions, those who are interested in British India would combine to meet a real danger, there is one which may demand their best and most united energies. If "Government by Electric Telegraph" is to be developed much further, and if the messages are not only to be "Take care of Dowb," but "Give half a million to Cræsus," the time is not far off when we may at least save the salary of a Governor General, and pass under the reign of one who—in spite of his name—will be no king Log. The keystone of Administrative Reform for India will not be laid by turning the Legislative Body into a nuisance, whose necessary abolition will but facilitate the introduction of an irresponsible Despotism sitting at Whitehall; but by our all acting together with a calm earnestness that shall shew that "India must be governed in India" until the time comes when she may govern herself. In the meanwhile let us use, and keep in working order, the tools that we have. There is a body of eight hundred Civil Officers, many of whom have abundantly proved their capability for very difficult work, and all of whom are daily increasing their knowledge of a very intricate subject; there are a certain number of able and industrious subordinates competing with their superiors, with whom they are in some instances fit morally and intellectually to move on a par; and there are thousands of Military Officers who *must* be provided for, and many of whom possess an acquaintance with local language and customs, and a capacity for brilliant service, which only require to be elicited. Should there be any special posts, either on the office stool or on the judicial Bench, which require special qualifications, by all means let those qualifications be sought for. But let it never be forgotten that the administration of a quasi-continent, peopled by numerous races differing in every quality and char-

acteristic, except that of only obeying the firm will and the strong hand, is a strictly extra-parochial affair, and cannot be conducted on vestry principles. Let it be remembered how large a share of Indian shortcomings have always been due to English interference, and let some allowance be made for the imperfections of human nature, which, though not confined to Englishmen in India, are certainly not banished from among them.

It is the fashion with some soi-disant Reformers to affirm, that the Members of the Civil Service are a set of drones who live in idleness and clover for twenty-five years, and then return to Europe on a Pension of £1000 a year. To those who know India well it will not be necessary to observe that both statements are false. But readers at Home and Calcutta cockneys may be as well reminded of the history of India for the last half century, of the great men whose names have been already cited, of the civilization of Sindh and the Punjab, of the settlement of the North-Western Provinces, (whatever its correctness of principle, at any rate surely a work of labor,) and of the concurrent accounts of all travellers, British or foreign who have seen the interior of the country. - In a former part of this article we cited the cases of some bygone black sheep of the flock; but the white sheep are surely a fair set-off; or would it be fair to condemn the whole body of gentlemen who have devoted their lives to India since the commencement of the present *régime*, on account of their having in their ranks a few 'hard bargains?' As to the pension, it is the most inconceivable delusion ever witnessed out of a conjuring booth. Every Civil Servant from the day he joins, contributes four per cent of his salary to an Annuity Fund. Every year a small proportion of those who have served longest are permitted to retire on an allowance of £500 a year, derived from the Fund formed by the accumulated subscriptions of their deceased comrades, supplemented by a Government Contingent. They are also at liberty to take the value of their own subscriptions, up to a second annuity of five hundred a year, calculated at ten per cent, or to make up the difference between what they may have paid and £5,000, or half a lakh of Rupees. Anything that may have accrued from the compulsory payments they have been making in excess of the last named sum is *forfeited* and a fine of £800 is demanded that the instalments of annuity may be paid quarterly and in advance. Men are not eligible to this retirement until they have been at least twenty five years in the service; but no servant of twenty five years standing ever gets one of the available annuities, while on the other hand one

of thirty five years is chased from the service, whether entitled to an annuity or not. Such is the celebrated Civil Service Retirement! on which comment would be superfluous, were it not for the inroads on the rights and privileges of the Service now understood to be in contemplation. If the prizes of the Service are abolished or thrown open, and the pay of incumbents reduced, a Government presided over by a Royal Mistress, and conducted by British Earls, knights and gentlemen, is surely bound to give the disappointed employes the option of retiring. Especially is it the duty of Government to do this, and of "the Press" to urge it, if the majority of the service, owing to the system under which they have been selected and employed, are such useless encumbrances. Good faith and justice are as necessary as expediency to any complete measure of Administrative Reform.

Thus, therefore, we have attempted to shew the principles on which Administrative Reform for India should proceed. We have not been desirous of defending any particular existing system. As to writing up the old Civil Service, it is quite unnecessary; if its historical destruction did not speak for it, it has, at all events, ceased to exist; and we need not speak of the dead, whether for good or for evil. "Though one should smite him on the cheek, and on the mouth, he will not speak." It shall not be ours, either by praise or blame, to profane that repose. But it has appeared to us, and, we hope, to our reader, that some such men as the old Civilians, are still required to administer those parts of India which are still in the condition of foreign Dependencies, requiring a despotic system, but for which an European is better than an Asiatic Despot. Those parts which are becoming civilized and colonial in their character, seem to require a set of officials more obviously the servants of the Public, more numerous, not so highly paid, and more amenable to the constant action of public opinion. It has also been inferred from analogy, that for the former class of duties, the *personnel* now at the disposal of the Indian Secretary of State presents a large number of men of, at least, average ability, and far more than average experience; that there are probably a few great men latent in the service, and certainly some who are nearly, if not altogether, useless.

Before concluding, it may perhaps be proper that we should state, what we think the best way of securing the most serviceable position and career for the capable and the brilliant, while a method is pointed out for the elimination of the 'hard bargains,' without undue hardship to themselves. We consider that those of the old Civil Service and of the competitioners who have shewn aptitude for administration, should be allowed the option of entering the Staff-corps of the

Army on their respective grades. Something is due to these officers. They have left certain prospects in England in the hope of certain apparently guaranteed advantages in the Civil Service of this country, which have either ceased to exist already, or have come under the destructive touch of the future. Many of these men did good and gallant service for years before the Rebellion, were tried during that crisis as few men of their class are tried, coming out of the trial with the applause of Queen and country, and have continued since to work hard at duties now become distasteful, amidst the wreck of nearly all their old hopes, and under much cruel misrepresentation from those whose good opinion was once their greatest consolation. To reduce these men suddenly from the highest position in the country to one in which they have neither acknowledged position, nor security for their future; to turn the once independent servants of the Home Government into suitors for backstairs favor at Belvedere or Nainee Tal is too severe handling for old and faithful employes. The case of the competitioners is in some respects harder. In addition to the pay, many of them considered the social status a farther inducement when giving up a academical prospects for the gilded chains of Indian servitude; and in their case, the withdrawal of the covenant will reland them hopelessly on their original platform. All alike, be they gentlemen or not, will have to contend and to compete with men possessed of more Parliamentary and connectional interest than themselves; and it is but a matter of bare right that they should be protected by a commission from the crown, as a recognition of their place in the service, and as something to fall back on when ill health or other accident throws them out of employ. The simplest way to do this is as before suggested. A number of the so-called Military Officers on the Staff-corps, have long ceased to be soldiers in anything but in title; and there is no reason why Captain Sword should hold his commission in the Staff-corps as well as his Deputy Commissionership, while Mr. Pen, his first cousin and contemporary in the Civil Service, should go on furlough to England on the footing of a clerk, and return to this country in the character of an adventurer. There are departments in which men will remain and rise during the whole period of their service. Such is the financial, and such, shortly, will be the judicial branch. Officers who elect to qualify for these need not perhaps be borne upon the strength of the Staff-corps, but this is a matter of detail.

We now come to the incapables, with whom the public are too often burthened, owing to the absurd injustice of the rules regarding the retirement of Civil Servants. It is a popular

notion that every member of this favored body is entitled to £ 1000 a year for life, in an elegant European retreat, immediately on completing his quarter of a century of Indian Service. In point of fact the Government gives him considerably less than £ 300 a year; and this he seldom gets before his thirtieth year of service. The Annuity, in reality, consists of two portions of £ 500 a year each: one made up partly from public money, and partly from a sort of tontine on lapsed subscriptions of members who have died before retiring. These subscriptions are compulsory, being deducted from the monthly pay of every officer to the tune of some five per cent. The other moiety is the value of the subscriber's payments at ten per cent., per annum. A large fine is demanded that the annuity may be paid quarterly in advance; and the subscriptions of any member, whose payments, owing to length of service and unusually high rates of salary, may have exceeded £ 5000, are forfeited. The first of these, if it were untrammelled by the second, is a fair provision. If every Civil officer could get £ 500 a year for life after his twenty five years of service, all would be well. The provision, though modest, would be not inadequate; and worn out, disappointed public servants, although they might have held poor posts, and saved no money, could be got rid of without cruelty. Instead of which, what is the working of the present system? The fund only provides a certain number of annuities in each year, and an officer out of employ must simply starve until it comes to his turn to obtain one. No wonder if some useless men encumber the service, owing to a natural reluctance on the part of their superiors to turn them entirely adrift.

There is another fund, the "Civil Fund" as it is called, out of which the widows and orphans of Civil Officers are provided for, which must of course be kept up. We cannot at the end of a paper on Administrative Reform, enter into the details of this subject; but would just mention, that it would be better for all parties if the former fund (that for Annuities) were entirely abolished, Government taking so much of the accumulations as was found necessary to guarantee the pension of £500 a year, and returning the balance to subscribers *ad valorem* on their past contributions. If only as a kind of compensation for all the injury it is bringing on the service, Government is bound to take up this matter in a liberal spirit. As for the Civil fund, we will only here observe, that even whig statesmen are, for the most part, English gentlemen; and that, were they not, the service may surely commit, in all confidence, the sacred cause of the fatherless and the widow, to a Monarch who is herself, both wife and mother.

ART. II.—*British Settlers.—Report of the Commissioners on Indigo Planting. 1860.*

THE condition of colonies depends in a great measure on the character of their local government. Wise rulers frame equitable laws, and, appointing proper executive officers, keep the courts of justice pure, encourage enterprising capitalists to develop the mineral, agricultural and commercial resources of the country, afford every facility for the transport of traffic on roads, rivers and seas, and behold in the increasing numbers of settlers from the mother country, a wall of strength, a safeguard against anarchy, and the fairest prospect of preserving in a loyal and prosperous state the foreign possessions of their Sovereign. The results of their administration are seen in reclaimed wastes waving with corn, populous cities standing on the sites of primeval forests, flourishing manufactures, crowded marts, merchant fleets, and well attended schools, colleges and churches. Under their auspices colonies, larger than many kingdoms, passing over the intervening stage of youth, shoot up from infancy into manhood, and attain at once all the characteristics of ancient commonwealths. We speak not of fabled regions: this sudden rise and rapid progress are exemplified in the Australian settlements and other dependencies of the British crown, where Anglo-Saxons, putting forth indomitable energy, have turned the wilds of nature into great and wealthy states, which in the race of social and moral advancement vie with the mother country, and in their educational and ecclesiastical polity leave her far in the rear.

The effects of an unenlightened, weak and wavering government, are seen in the depression of agriculture, trade and commerce, and the departure of capitalists and labourers to other lands.

Emigration from a country may be a proof of its numerical strength, wealth and prosperity, as at present illustrated by the groups of well conditioned people that leave Great Britain for its distant dependencies; but emigration may likewise be a proof of the misery of a country, and the incapacity of the men to whom its destinies are confided. In the plains of India and on the declivities of her mountains, the jungles, capable of being cleared and made highly productive, are larger than the whole area of England. Why are they not brought under tillage, is a question which will naturally arise in every inquiring mind. Is it owing to the few-

ness of the inhabitants, and the want of labourers? On the contrary the increase of the population has been remarkably great, and many thousands of labourers have been sent to Ceylon, the Mauritius and the West Indian isles,—men in abject poverty, and conveyed to their destination at the expense of their future employers. With the most fertile land lying waste at their own doors, they have left their homes to supply the labour-market of foreign countries. This indicates something radically wrong in the laws or their administration, and is a fact which speaks volumes against our rule. It clearly shows that though the chief edible commodities of the people are selling at prices almost unprecedented, and extended cultivation would therefore yield ample profit, there is no adequate inducement to reclaim these vast wildernesses, and the labouring poor consequently resort to exile as their only refuge. Six thousand are to be shipped for the French colonies—six thousand living proofs of the bad Government of India, and of the wretchedness of its inhabitants. Not only do our senators facilitate the shipment of native labourers, but appear likely to effect the exodus of British settlers also. Indeed from the date of the battle of Plassey to the present time, nearly every year has witnessed legislation more or less antagonistic to European residents. Indifferent alike to the material prosperity of the country, the evangelization of its inhabitants, and to a free press, that powerful auxiliary in the administration of public affairs, the late East India Company, with a zeal worthy of the dark ages, occupied itself in deporting merchants, editors and clergymen. The few non-official English who stayed remained on sufferance, liable to be banished whenever capricious tyranny dictated. The reasonable request to be allowed to become owners of the land was not granted them. Natives might purchase estates, but the most to which Christians could aspire, was to be tenants of Hindoo and Mohommedan proprietors. When Parliament compelled the Company to adopt a more liberal policy, the local authorities, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, used their utmost endeavours to neutralize it, by throwing all possible impediments in the way of capitalists: every administration, except that of Lord Bentinck, was either hostile or apathetic; and Arms Bills, Black Acts, and the gagging of the press show but too plainly that the ancient spirit animates the present government. Legislators, on whom nature has not deigned to bestow the far-reaching minds of statesmen, not having a clear perception of what they are doing, may frame laws whose tendency is to discourage, ruin and expel British settlers, but the people for whose welfare they are enacted will be the first to deplore their results.

If a manufacture of incalculable benefit to the country be attended with partial evils, which all persons admit to be the case, it is the province of the state to make provision for the removal of the evils, not to destroy the manufacture itself. The most perfect work of art may chance to be out of order, but while susceptible of repair, no person, unless a child or maniac, would dash it to pieces. It may be said that for uprightness of intention, and solicitude to promote the prosperity of India, full credit should be given to the Members of Council: but these are not the only attributes requisite to govern an empire; wisdom is quite as necessary, and without it legislation must be little better than groping in the dark, and will seldom prove otherwise than hurtful to the realm. Virtue, of the most exalted character, cannot be accepted as an adequate apology for ignorance and wrong doing. Some of the greatest evils which have afflicted the world have sprung from motives and aspirations that would be honourable even to angels. Before giving credit to the government for a spirit of equity to British settlers, it may be well to inquire when it has been merited, and whether in the indigo crisis the acts of the executive deserved praise or condemnation. To form a right judgment on this important matter, it will be necessary to bear in mind that in 1857, while mutiny and rebellion shook the empire to its base lower Bengal was tranquil, and the planters, though ten, twenty and thirty miles apart from each other, remained on their estates with their wives and children unapprehensive of danger. No troops, policemen, or guards of any description surrounded their solitary dwellings. Had they been the tyrants they have been pictured, how was it that the pent up passions of the people they had oppressed did not, when so favourable an opportunity presented itself, burst forth in deeds of rapine and bloodshed? The temptation to anarchy was great, yet not a single murder was committed, not a shred of property stolen, nor the least change made in the respectful demeanour of their tenantry. During the whole period of the rebellion, the counties of Jessore, Pubna, Nuddea, Moorshedabad, Rajshaye, and Malda continued quiet, and no traveller in passing through them could have imagined, that the North Western portions of the empire were then in a blaze: but in the early part of last year these peaceful districts began to assume a different aspect; discontent and turbulence gradually appeared, and at length developed themselves in riots, which resulted in the flight, ruin and imprisonment of thousands of the peasantry, and the bankruptcy of enterprising capitalists. As no change had been made in the system of indigo-cultivation, and the planters are not even accused of having done any thing

to outrage the feelings of the farmers, the question naturally arises, how was this disastrous state of things brought about? Several causes may have been at work, and to each in its proper place we shall advert.

In making his financial statement Mr. Wilson embraced the opportunity to speak about indigo-cultivation, and to give expression to the enlightened sentiments embodied in the following language : ' It is one of the few cultivations in India which attract British capital and skill to direct native labour. That is the kind of industry which, above all others, the Government would wish to encourage, and on that account alone they would feel precluded from placing any impediment in the way of its extension. It would be more in consonance with our views to remove what little duty there now is as soon as circumstances will permit. The value of the influence of European gentlemen settled in our county districts cannot, in our opinion, be overestimated, and it will be the steadfast policy of the Government to encourage it in every way we can.' Scarcely had these sentiments been uttered when Mr. Grant fell under suspicion, whether deservedly or not we shall presently inquire, of labouring to frustrate the design of that distinguished and now lamented statesman. A crusade was commenced against planters, productive of evils which malevolent persons doubtless contemplated with feelings of pleasure. Indeed there was much cause for exultation, for every day's proceedings proved increasingly destructive to the interests of British settlers. Speaking of the excitement and hostility of the peasantry, the Manager of the Sindoori Concern, under date of the 21st of February, writes : ' The ryots are fully under the impression that the Government wish to suppress the cultivation of indigo, and will support them against the planter, and they certainly have every reason for saying so, for they are often told so by the police.' And on the 29th he writes : ' The ryots are at present in a state of great excitement; in fact they are mad, and ready for any mischief. They daily try to burn our factory and seed-golahs. Most of our servants have left us from fear, as the ryots have threatened to murder them and burn their houses; and I fear that the few that are still with us will soon leave, for the ryots prevent them getting food from the neighbouring bazars. If some most stringent steps are not taken by the Government at once, none of us will be able to remain in the Mofussil, and then there will be a general loot of the factories—rather a serious state of affairs when you consider what is at stake. Even now it is not safe to ride from factory to factory. The whole country is up, and if it go on much longer in this way

'there is no saying what may happen. The police are all against us.' The manager of the Bengal Indigo Company states, that the disturbances in his concern are owing to the 'current belief, that the Government is determined on putting a stop to all indigo planting.' The Manager of the Carryoda factory writes on the 1st of March: 'I am sorry to say that the ryots of the Soobdy factory have been told by the ryots of Kadjoorah factory of the Goldar division, and those belonging to the Ailhass factory of the Sindoori division, to join with them to present a petition against us. My ryots said that they had nothing to complain of, whereupon they were told that they would not be allowed to remain in their villages. I am doing my best to keep them quiet; but the whole district is in revolution, and the mutinous ryots say they will not sow indigo, having the Lord Saheb on their side, who has told them they need not sow indigo if they do not like it.' Mr. Campbell, assistant in the Mulnath Concern, was attacked and beaten, and left for dead on the field. Mr. Hyde, assistant in the same Concern, was pelted with clods, and only saved himself by the speed of his horse.*

The out houses of Chandpore, in the Goldar Concern, and the factory houses of Kadjoorah, in the Lokenathpore Concern, were burned down. Three hundred men attacked the dwelling house at Buckrabad in Malda, and made a bonfire of the property it contained. In the attack on the factory at Baniagram in Moorshedabad two men were killed and several wounded. Since the above events transpired, two factories have been destroyed by fire in the county of Rajshaye.

The statement, that the farmers have an impression that the Government is hostile to indigo and has prohibited its further cultivation, is confirmed by gentlemen who are in no way personally interested in the matter. A. T. Maclean, Esq. Magistrate of Damurhuda, in his evidence before the Commission says: 'During the months of July, August, and September of last year, I was residing in an indigo factory in Damurhuda, there being no residence for a magistrate in those parts; and being the height of the rains, it was impossible for me to live in a tent. During those three months I have no recollection of any complaints being brought to me, or any expression of feeling for or against indigo, being made. In February, when I rejoined my appointment, I found the manager of Lokenathpore and the villagers of Joyrampore at issue. Mr. Tweedie and his head servants on one side, and the mullicks and the chief villagers on the other, were, on my recommendation to the magistrate, bound over to keep the peace.'

* Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, pp. 350-1.

'The discontent spread by degrees through the district. It seemed to be the impression in Durgapore and in the northern part of the Hardi Thanna, that the Government had prohibited the cultivation of indigo. I endeavoured to disabuse their minds of this idea, but with no success. They said it was the order of the Bara Saheb that they were not to sow indigo any more. Latterly I heard it said, that people had come from Calcutta, and exhibited written orders to the effect, that there were penalties for sowing; but though I endeavoured to get hold of these orders I never succeeded in getting a sight of them. The petitions presented were numerous, they were vague and general, the specific charges were few in number, and as far as I can remember were not well founded. Villagers going from village to village, exciting each other to join in a league to refuse to sow indigo, was, I believe, a practice.*

W. H. Herschel Esq. Magistrate of Nuddea, states: 'On the 20th February with the exception of Santipore and two police-divisions on the Bhagirothi, the whole of the rest of the district was strongly excited on the subject of indigo planting. One general idea seemed to prevail, that the cultivation of indigo was stopped by the orders of Government, and a good deal of irritation prevailed because they thought that these orders were not being carried out. When I went to Khatgarra the ryots told me that they had broken up the indigo that had been sown because Government wanted to put a stop to the cultivation of it.† 'The ryots have an impression,' says the Rev. J. Long, that the Government is on their side, and this has emboldened them to rise.' The Rev. C. H. Blumhardt states: 'The ryots have certainly lately been under the impression that they had the support of Government, and particularly that of the Lieutenant Governor, and that I suppose has inspired them with that boldness and energy with which we now see them come forward.‡ The Rev. F. Schurr observes: 'I cannot trace the origin of the change which has occurred within the last six months, but the perwannas have had a great deal to do with it,—I mean the Lieutenant Governor's and Mr. Herschel's.'§

Was the opinion that the Government is hostile to indigo, and resolved to stop its cultivation, founded on words and acts which indicated the conclusions the farmers every where drew from them? We are disposed to think that the natives, following their usual course of reasoning, could not have interpreted

* Report of the Indigo Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp. 32-3-4.

† Ditto ditto ditto pp. 4-9.

‡ Indigo Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, p. 124.

§ Ditto ditto ditto p. 68.

the intentions of the authorities as otherwise than antagonistic to the planting enterprise. The illegal proclamation made by the Magistrate of Baraset was a direct interference with capital and labour, and could have been issued under no other government in the civilized world.

'Proclamation No. 1603, to the Daroga of Kolarooah. Be it known.'

A letter of the Magistrate of Baraset, dated the 17th August 1859, has arrived, enclosing extract of a letter, No. 4516, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 21st July 1859, and addressed to the Nuddea Commissioner, which, in referring to certain Indigo matters, states that the ryots are to keep possession of their own lands, sowing thereon such crops as they may desire; that the Police should take care that neither Indigo Planters nor other persons should interfere with the ryots; that indigo planters shall not be able, under pretence of the ryots having agreed to sow indigo to cause indigo to be sown by the use of violence on the lands of those ryots; and that if the ryots have indeed agreed to do so, the Indigo Planters are at liberty to sue them for the same in the Civil Court, the Fouzdaree Court having no concern at all in that matter; for the ryots can bring forward numerous objections to their cultivating indigo, and in respect of their denial of the above agreement.'

'Therefore this general Perwannah is addressed to you, that you may act in future as stated above.'

'The 20th August 1859.'*

Speaking of a report current in the South Eastern part of the county of Nuddea, to the effect that Government was opposed to the cultivation of Indigo, E. Drummond, Esq. the Magistrate, says: 'This report, I believe, to have been spread in particular instances, by designing persons to do their immediate neighbours harm, but I have no doubt it owes its origin to the occurrences in Baraset, and that it is rapidly spreading, and will do much damage in this district, if not checked at once.†

Cultivators, who had received advances and entered into contracts to sow indigo, are deliberately told, that in keeping or breaking their engagements they will be allowed to consult their own inclination. Were a similar proclamation to be issued respecting debts and rent, neither money-lenders nor revenue-officers would be able to realize a farthing, and both the state and bankers would become insolvent. It is idle to

* Blue Book, Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 352.

† Ditto ditto p. 576.

say such a catastrophe was not contemplated. Men who know the people foresaw the order could lead to no other result, and the inability of a magistrate to comprehend the tendency of his own actions, shows that he was grossly unfit for the situation he was appointed to fill. Many copies were made of the proclamation, and it gradually found its way through all the indigo districts in Lower Bengal; the police, though the most indolent men in the world, were industrious to make it known, and are thought to have been well remunerated for their services. Every where the farmers put the same interpretation upon it, and believed it to be a permission from Government to defraud the planters, by declining to sow indigo for the crop of which they had received payment in whole or in part. Native landlords generally showed themselves unfriendly to the planter, and paid, it is believed, emissaries to travel through the excited districts, who encouraged the turbulent to continue in the lawless course in which they had entered, and by the dissemination of false intelligence, and the use of promises and denunciations, constrained the well disposed, who were peaceably pursuing their usual labours, to abandon their fields, and join the insurrectionists. Letters were addressed to the headmen of villages, urging them to employ the whole of their influence to oppose British Settlers, and superior pleaders despatched from Calcutta to defend the cultivators in all suits for breach of contract which were brought against them.

Had a document of a similar character been addressed to English workmen during the recent strikes, it would have been productive of the most disastrous consequences, but British statesmen refused to interfere between the contending parties, and reserved their power to prevent breaches of the peace. The entire responsibility of this proclamation has been supposed to belong to the Honorable Mr. Eden, and consequently much opprobrium has been heaped upon him, which his statements before the Commission did not tend to remove. We read his evidence with care, and it reminded us of a criticism on Milton's Lucifer. There is nothing sneaking about him: he is bold, and braves the opinions of the universe. A large portion of the blame arising from this document must however be attributed to a person in very high authority. It appears that the proclamation was founded on a letter of the Lieutenant Governor, of the 21st of July 1859, to which it bears a striking resemblance. Mr. Eden says: 'The wording of the Government letter is this; "The ryots may confess the en-

“ gagement and still have many irresistible pleas to avoid the consequences the planter insists upon.” The wording of the Deputy Magistrate’s Purwanmah is ; “The Criminal Court has no concern in these matters, because notwithstanding such contracts or such consent withheld or given, ryots may urge unanswerable excuses against the sowing of indigo.” The wording of my letter was ; “Such promises can only be produced against the ryots in the Civil Court, and the magisterial authorities have nothing to do with them, for there must be two parties to a promise, and it is possible that even the ryots whose promises or contracts are admitted may still have many irresistible pleas to avoid the consequences the planter insists upon.” *

There have however been other agencies at work besides the proclamation. The speeches of the Lieutenant Governor in his tour through the county of Nuddea, and the orders issued through his Secretary to the Commissioners of the respective indigo districts, seem to have been as influential for evil as the Baraset document. In attempting to exculpate himself from having given cause for the report that farmers might take advances, and with impunity leave their engagements unfulfilled, Mr. Eden states ‘The Magistrate of Jessore, in the extract of his letter which you have forwarded to me, says that the rumour in the Jessore district was with reference to some expressions which were supposed to have been made use of by the Lieutenant Governor at Nuddea.’ ‘I think,’ says the Rev. G. G. Cuthbert, ‘that the incitement came quite unintentionally from the present Lieutenant Governor, from some remarks made by him when visiting Kishnaghur in 1859, to the effect that the ryots should be left free to cultivate indigo or not as they chose. The excitement caused by this was strengthened by the letter addressed to Mr. Grote on the subject, by the officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal in October 1859, about a complaint against the planter of Bansberria. This led the ryots to believe, that the Government were on their side, and in favour of their refusing to cultivate indigo.’† Even the Governor General observes. ‘It is much to be regretted that the proclamation issued by the commissioner of Nuddea was so incomplete as not to take cognizance of the position of those ryots who are under engagements to sow indigo in years subsequent to the present year. It is to be regretted that the instructions under which the proclamation was framed did not take distinct notice of

* Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 589.

† Indigo Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, p. 181.

'the cases of such ryots. The Governor General in Council has reason to believe that in some instances ryots in the above mentioned position considered themselves to be set free from obligations which it certainly was not the intention of the Lieutenant Governor to overlook; and I am to request that, His Honor will consider whether measures should not now be taken to place the matter before the ryots in its true light.'*

Confirmation is lent to the truth of these statements by the spirit Mr. Grant has exhibited. He is occasionally oblivious of the dignity of his office. Planters, who have invested millions in a laudable enterprise, who are the owners of estates in some instances covering an area of many miles, and who in any other country would be addressed in respectful language, are stigmatized as 'these strangers,'† and the cultivators of the soil to whom they make advances designated capitalists. Indigo property to a large amount has been destroyed, and from the insecurity which is every where felt, that which remains has been reduced more than fifty per cent in value; emissaries are scouring the country, deterring well-disposed peasants from following their avocations, and breathing vengeance against factory servants, should they continue to work for their masters. Village after village has repudiated the payment of rent; lands which the planter had purchased and was accustomed to cultivate by his own labourers, ryots seize and appropriate to their own use; troops are located where a soldier has not been required for the last hundred years; gun-boats have cruised on rivers that never bore warlike craft; collisions have taken place in which men have been wounded and slain; yet the Lieutenant Governor complacently declares there is only 'a commercial disagreement between two classes concerned in a particular trade,' and the word 'confusion,' applied to the present state of the country, is not 'justifiable.'‡ In the judgement of a ruler who has made the wonderful discovery of governing mankind by writing machiavelian minutes, what degree of anarchy will render the use of the obnoxious word appropriate? Is it not to be employed till the provinces committed to his care be irretrievably ruined, and the grave close on all European settlers?

In a recent suit it is said to have been discovered that a contract written on a stamp-paper was dated three years before the stamp itself was sold at the shop of the vendor. If correct, this

* Lord Canning's Letter of the 31st of August 1860, respecting Mr. Grant's Minute.

† Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 196, para. 7.

‡ Mr. Grant's Minute, para. 4.

statement would prove that some one had been guilty of forgery and deserved to be punished; but Mr. Grant deems it a sufficient reason to brand, in the 35th paragraph of his minute, the whole of the planting community. 'It must doubtless have been agreeable to the planters when their suits were tried in such a fashion, that decrees were obtainable on agreements purporting to be four years old, though written on stamps which were in the vendor's shop one year ago.' Among British settlers there are as many high-principled persons, who would shrink from the least approach to villany, as can be found in any other section of European Society; yet he heaps opprobrium on the virtuous and vicious alike, and condemns the body for the reputed fault of a single member. If this style of reasoning is to be tolerated, no reputation will be safe: the slanderer may breathe his pestilential exhalations on the purest and most exalted characters. He may take the license to affirm, that because a Raikes had to fly the country to elude the pursuit of justice, all Indian civilians are speculators, and because one member of a family was supposed to be implicated in the failure of a certain bank, which revealed an astonishing amount of knavery, all the other members of it are rogues. The mere mention of such logic is enough to expose its absurdity, and show the great want of moral propriety in the person who can use it.

With the view of prosecuting the culprit, had the crime been really perpetrated, the Indigo-Planters' Association in the Metropolis requested the commissioner of Nuddea to send down the bond to which reference has been made. After a delay of twenty days it was reluctantly given, and on the 22nd of October appeared in the columns of the Calcutta "Englishman." From a perusal of the document we perceive that no forgery whatever was committed, or even so much as contemplated; though the date is wrong in one place, owing to a clerical error of the native writer, it is correctly stated in the body of the contract. Thus an instrument which had not been read through, for had it been, the grave blunder could not have been made, is said to prove the perpetration of a crime of the most disreputable character. What a dark picture does this present of the courts and the reckless manner of their procedure. Without taking the trouble to ascertain the contents of the bond, Messrs. Bell, Herschel, Lushington, and Grant use it with unsparing severity to injure the reputation of the planters; and now the truth is disclosed, if possessed of the least sensibility, must feel themselves in the predicament of men who have merited reproach and contempt. Had they been officers in Britain, after such flagitiousness, they would not have been

permitted to hold their appointments another hour; they may therefore thank Providence for fixing their destiny in India.

Mr. Grant is accused of interfering with the administration of justice by forcing on the executive authorities his own views of the law; censuring and removing magistrates who pronounced sentences he disapproved, sending a decision of Mr. Herschel's to every official as a model after which all other suits were to be determined, liberating prisoners whose cases presented nothing to mitigate the punishment the tribunals awarded. Though these are charges of a grave character, they are substantially correct, and supported in part by irrefragable evidence which he himself furnishes. An instance is recorded in the Blue Book, of his giving his own opinion of the law in opposition to the enlightened views of Mr. Grote, the commissioner of Nuddea, and in favour of the erratic procedure of Mr. Eden. 'The Lieutenant Governor assumes that Mr. Eden's principle, as above stated, is beyond all question the true exposition of the law, as it stands, and he cannot agree with Mr. Grote in thinking Mr. Eden's order inconsistent with that principle.' * In his letter of the 18th of September, speaking of the proclamation in which he had told the cultivators who had contracted to grow indigo for several years, that they would be free from their engagements at the close of the current season, he says: 'In order then to place the matter before this class of ryots in its true light, a local Notification for the Nuddea Division might be issued calling the attention of those ryots *who are under* valid unexpired engagements from which they cannot or *do not* release themselves by proceedings under Regulations V. of 1830, to the fact of their obligations remaining in full force.' Had he only glanced at the Act, or been acquainted with the simple rudiments of law, he could never have used such extraordinary language. The Act affords protection to ryots, who, having fulfilled their engagements and declining to enter into new ones, apply to the court for a settlement of their accounts with the planter; but it distinctly states, that the ryot cannot claim a settlement of his account till the expiration of the period of his contract, and that while any portion of the time of the contract has yet to run the judge has no jurisdiction in the matter. To speak then of valid and unexpired engagements from which ryots do not release themselves is to misinterpret the Act, and use words which the people are sure to understand as a suggestion to set the law at defiance. This is a strange way of correcting the serious blunder which called forth the reprimand.

* Blue Book on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, p. 196, para. 9.

mand of the Governor General. Thus by opinions, proclamations, and orders contrary to the letter and spirit of the law, Mr. Grant has done much, indeed almost every thing, unintentionally no doubt, to mislead and impoverish the peasantry, jeopardize an important branch of commerce, drive European capital from the country, and evoke, in every district of his Government, the demon of anarchy.

The experience of the Lieutenant Governor has been confined to the metropolis. He possesses only a very slight knowledge of the vernacular, has never resided in an indigo-district, and is profoundly ignorant of the interior of the country, but when the executive authorities point out in a courteous manner the errors into which he falls, he answers arrogantly, and forgets he is speaking to gentlemen; and if the 'strangers,' as he politely designates European Settlers, remonstrate against his procedure he becomes wroth, and pens minute on minute till the learned pile threatens to rise to the height of the tower of Babel, and with much of the confusion and perversity which prevailed at the erection of that wonderful edifice. Ignorance in a private individual calls for pity, but in a ruler of forty millions of people, who receives princely emoluments for the discharge of his duties, it must be contemplated as a crime. He had however, he tells the world, a peculiar opportunity in the year 1835 for making himself acquainted with indigo-planting.

Lord Bentinck seeing the importance of Europeans to develop the resources of India, and conduct works of enterprise, wished to afford them every encouragement and facility to settle in the country, and invest capital in agriculture, trade and commerce. Desirous of obtaining correct intelligence, he caused letters of inquiry to be addressed to all European and Native gentlemen who were likely to possess the information which he sought. The answers to these letters confirmed his own opinion that, notwithstanding the partial evils which might now and then attend indigo-cultivation, the planters had done more than any other body of men to advance the material prosperity of India. He gave these papers to the world, and strongly recommended the Court of Directors to adopt towards British Settlers a liberal policy. Unable to resist his arguments, and perhaps awed by his character, the Court gave a cold assent to his measures; but no sooner had he left these shores than steps were taken to reestablish the ancient policy of antagonism to European residents. The Local Government was instructed to request all judges, collectors, and magistrates to give their opinion again respecting indigo-planters. They did so, and their letters are supposed to have been more than unfriendly, but they were not

published to afford those who were attacked an opportunity of defending themselves. They were kept secret, and committed to Mr. Grant to form the materials of a dispatch to be addressed to the Home Authorities. A man with a nice sense of honour would have recoiled from such an undertaking, but he has the effrontery to boast of it.

We have no desire to depreciate the service to which Mr. Grant belongs, but wish it well. It is adorned by many persons possessed of great minds and eminent virtues, who for talent, labour, and integrity, have probably never been surpassed, and who will be mentioned to the latest day of our rule as an honour to the English name; still we counsel its members not to wage war against European residents, for the result of the conflict may be foreseen without the gift of prophecy. In Canada and the Cape of Good Hope such a struggle ended in the humiliation of officials, and the creation of parliaments in which emigrants are duly represented, and in what are now called the United States, it terminated in the loss to the Crown of one of its largest dependencies. The unthinking may deem the army sufficiently strong to prevent such a catastrophe, but reflecting persons will see in our military force elements of danger, troops united to British Settlers by nationality and consanguinity, and be apprehensive that the ties of blood, and the feelings of sympathy may break the bonds of allegiance and discipline, and lead them to fight on the side of their countrymen. The wise and virtuous, who take an interest in the welfare of India, would deplore such a collision, and scarcely expect the statesman to survive whose policy provoked it.

Having thus dwelt on the policy of the Bengal Government, a policy which, when made known to the world, all statesmen will emphatically condemn, we shall notice the evils that really attend the planting enterprise, all these, we think, might have been removed without for years injuring the richest province of the empire; but before entering on this portion of the subject it will be necessary to mention the systems of cultivating and manufacturing indigo which prevail in different parts of the country.

In the North Western Provinces the planters purchase the *fecula* of the indigo in a wet state, and it must have such a consistency that five seers can be lifted with one hand.* It is obtained by contract with zemindars, or ryots at rates which are

* C. R. Lindsay Esq., Collector of Furruckabad, says, the required consistency is 2½ seers, or about 6 lbs., Commissioners Report, Appendix No. 26 p. 123; but J. O. B. Saunders Esq., till very recently an indigo planter, states it be 5 seers, Report, Minutes of Evidence, p. 182.

regulated by the price which is current when the stipulation is formed, and the whole or part of the payment is made in advance. It is likewise purchased in the open market from persons who grow and manufacture it on their own account, or from dealers who buy it from others and sell it again for profit. The price is from ten to twelve rupees per maund. In the North West Provinces Europeans also manufacture the dye from the plant, but appear not to have done so before the year 1827, when what they had hitherto made was greatly depreciated in value by a largely increased production of a finer quality of indigo in Tirhoot and lower Bengal, which led them to change their system, to erect vats, and manufacture the dye themselves. To be secure against loss the contract for the plant is generally made with a merchant, trader, or zemindar, and the rate paid, which varies with the market, is about 22 rupees per 100 maund, the weight of which is 96 lbs.; if the agreement be made with the ryot himself the price is two rupees less, and he is sometimes required to bring as surety the zemindar or headman of the village where he resides. It is stipulated to pay half the money in advance; however the ryot does not receive it all at once, but at separate stages of the work, one quarter after the first irrigation, and the remaining portion after the first weeding. The bigha is supposed to yield the cultivator a profit of about one rupee, it is occasionally more, but sometimes gives him no remuneration for his labour.

In Tirhoot indigo is cultivated on plantations owned by Europeans and worked by hired labourers; and also by small farmers who grow it on their own land for the factory at a stipulated price. After signing the contract, an advance is made to them of two rupees per bigha, the measurement of which is equal to three Bengal bighas; an additional rupee is paid at sowing time, and another when the field is weeded. The remuneration per bigha for an abundant or average crop is six rupees, eight annas, and for land which happens to yield no return three rupees are given as an allowance for rent and labour. The land is occupied by indigo the whole year, and no other crops are grown with it.

In Lower Bengal indigo is cultivated on farms similar to those in Tirhoot, and likewise by the peasantry who grow it by contract on lands which they hold from the planter or some other proprietor. These different systems are designated *nij*, own cultivation, and *ryotte*, cultivation carried on by ryots. Summing up the cultivation of thirty factories, as recorded in the Report of the Commissioners, we find it to amount to 4,65,482 bighas, of which 3,66,016 are ryotte, and 99,466 *nij*, which gives the

latter a proportion to the former of a little more than a fourth. The period of the contracts into which the ryots enter is one, three, five or ten years. The advances are made at two rupees a bigha, and the rate paid for the plant, which varies at different places, is 4, 6 or 8 bundles for the rupee. On the occurrence of a bad season and a complete failure of the crop, no compensation is made to the ryot for the loss which he has sustained in the shape of rent and labour; the sum he has received in advance is entered in the books against him, to be liquidated in after years; but a part of such debts is sometimes remitted. On certain lands cereal and oil-seed crops are grown with indigo.

An opinion prevails, even among persons otherwise well informed, that indigo is obnoxious in all parts of the empire, but nothing can be more erroneous. It is produced in Rungpore, where laes of bundles have been sold in the market at the average price of four for the rupee. It is grown and manufactured by the Madras peasantry without advances, and the out-turn of the whole presidency in 1859-60, was 2,531,726, lbs. In the North West Provinces, the Punjab, Sind and Bombay, it has been cultivated and manufactured on a large scale from time immemorial, and its production can be indefinitely extended.

What is the character of planters in the North West Provinces we learn from the letters of Commissioners, Collectors and Magistrates, who, on being requested to communicate their opinions, wrote in the following terms of our enterprising countrymen. Mr. Phillips, the collector of Agra, states, 'that the cultivation of the indigo plant is popular, and that the system pursued has never been productive of affrays or trouble to the judicial or executive authorities of his district.* Mr. Thornhill, Deputy Collector of Etah, says, 'The cultivation of indigo is decidedly popular, and the cultivators take contracts with eagerness, and he is unaware of a single instance in which indigo cultivation has led to affrays.† Mr. Chase, officiating Collector of Mynpoory, 'represents the cultivation of indigo as highly popular, both with the zemindars and the ryots, and as being unattended either with breaches of the peace or with trouble or annoyance, either to the European planters themselves, or to the judicial or executive authorities of the district.‡ The Collector of Benares states 'that the planters are all honourable and upright men, and gain the esteem and respect of the surrounding agricultural community: they are a blessing to the district, and a great assistance to the magistrate. There have been no violent affrays or

* Indigo Commissioners' Report, Appendix No. 26, p. 121.

† Ditto ditto ditto No. 26, p. 121.

‡ Ditto ditto ditto No. 26, p. 121.

‘disturbances within the last ten years about indigo cultivation, and the criminal suits instituted, are almost invariably connected with the disputed possession of fields.’* Mr. F. Gubbins, the Commissioner of Allahabad, says, ‘The planters are almost invariably a blessing to the surrounding country. I have known this division eleven years, and have never heard of any oppression on the part of the planters, whom I have on the contrary, always found to be firm supporters of the law, and ever ready to assist in looking after the peace of the district, and in caring for the roads and public thoroughfares in their neighbourhood.’†

The complaints which have been made against indigo are confined to Bengal. As reasons for the tranquillity of the Upper Provinces and the present disturbed condition of the Lower, it has been stated that the cultivators of Hindostan are superior in honesty and straight-forwardness to those of Bengal; besides here the jurisdiction of magistrates is more extensive, which has rendered the enforcement of the law by the executive authorities impossible, the planters have been necessitated, in order to defend their property, to administer a rough kind of justice themselves, or accept the alternative of being reduced to beggary. Doubtless much injury has arisen from these causes; but there are other evils that cannot be thus accounted for, which deeply affect the condition of the labouring poor, and therefore cannot be a subject of indifference to any man possessed of comprehensive views and generous emotions. Such a person will be prepared to give the peasantry a hearing, to examine their grievances, and point out the way to redress them.

It is alleged that ploughs, carts, oxen, and labourers are pressed for the cultivation of factory-lands, and that if wages be given, which, it is said, is not always the case, they are generally much below the market rate; that implements of husbandry belonging to recusants are abducted to prevent them attending to other crops, and for trivial faults or offences which have not been committed they are subjected to heavy fines, and their goods distrained to realize them; that fields of hay and thatching grass, and trees for fuel and building are cut down, and taken away without payment, or for such trifling remuneration as amounts to not one tenth of the value of the property carried off; crops of rice and other grain are destroyed, and the land sown with indigo by force; ryots are seized, flogged, tortured and imprisoned, and if intimation of this treatment be conveyed to the executive autho-

* Indigo Commissioners' Report, Appendix No. 26, p. 11-920.

† Ditto ditto ditto No. 26, p. 118.

rities, to elude the police they are hurried from factory to factory, where they are kept in durance till their spirits bend, or they can bribe the guards to allow them to escape. That half a century ago such things may not have been infrequent, and that some of them now and then happen in the present day, cannot be denied. It may be said, and probably with much truth, that when they do occur, they are done in almost every instance by the factory servants and without the knowledge of their master; but however well established this statement may be, it does not lessen the sufferings of the victims, or palliate the cruel injustice to which they are subjected: the owner of an estate must to a great extent be considered morally responsible for what is transacted upon it, and those who are oppressed naturally attribute their wrongs to him, though he may not be the immediate author of them. When such things however really do happen, what is the legitimate inference to be drawn from them? Not only that an individual planter or his servant is proved to be worthy of condign punishment, but that the rich can grind the faces of the poor, and the strong oppress the weak with impunity; that the police, and the tribunals are inefficient, and, as far as the protection of person and property is concerned, there is no Government whatever.

The cultivators complain that they have no voice in the selection of the fields appropriated to indigo, and that instead of a fair proportion of different kinds of land being taken, all excepting the best is rejected, and the worst being thus left for grain and other produce, the harvest on them is less abundant than it otherwise would be. But when the quantity of land appropriated to the plant is compared with the area devoted to other productions, it will be found to be exceedingly small, so that the above objection can affect the interests of the farmers only very slightly: still, wherever it exists it should be removed, and perfect freedom be secured to them in fixing on fields for this or any other crop.

They likewise affirm that the factory measurement always exceeds the quantity of land they stipulated to sow. The planters admit that the indigo bigha is generally larger than the zemindari and government standard, but as the cultivators are perfectly aware of the fact they say fraud is not committed or even intended. Believing this to be correct, and we have not the remotest idea of imputing to them a desire to overreach the peasantry, we yet cannot but think it very advisable to assimilate the indigo acre to the measure which is adopted in the same district or county for lands devoted to other crops. Though conformable to long established usage, it cannot appear otherwise than exceedingly

anomalous, that a field of certain known dimensions, which is sown with rice this season, should measure less next year when taken for indigo. As the planter pays for the produce by the bundle, and not according to the space over which the seed is scattered, to perpetuate this singular custom can yield him no advantage, and as it is one of the reasons assigned by the farmers for their opposition to indigo, to continue it can only excite further irritation, and prevent an amicable settlement of present differences.

The fraudulent computation of the produce forms another grievance. At the time of cutting the farmers bind the indigo in bundles, and with carts or boats convey it to the factory, where with a chain which is six feet long two or three bundles are measured, and by these the quantity of the rest is conjectured. If the stalks of the plant be made to protrude at each end of the bundle, and the chain placed over the soft or leafy part in the centre, it is possible to press into one bundle what ought to make two, and this it is alleged is often done if the factory servants be not bribed. Those who have the happiness to be ignorant of the tortuosity and fertile resources of Hindu and Mahommedan minds will perhaps think these gains are made with the cognizance of the planter, and carried to his credit; but it is highly probable the utmost precaution is used to prevent him obtaining the least knowledge of the fraud. The native agent, who superintends the measurement, has persons among the cultivators who, with the hope of being well treated themselves and receiving a small pecuniary present, readily consent to aid him in the accomplishment of his designs. These allow more indigo to be entered in their names than they have actually brought, with the understanding that the price of it is afterwards to be paid to him, and thus by a circuitous route the proceeds of iniquity travel to his own coffers. It appears to be sometimes the case that instead of counting the bundles in a load, and estimating them, by the average bulk of three or four, no measurement is taken, or any enumeration made, but the indigo is thrown into the vat as soon as it arrives at the factory, and the quantity determined by the will of the agent, who is prepared to write in the ledger more than it really is, if paid, and less, if the *douceur* be not offered. Cannot arrangements be made to prevent this kind of knavery? At the time of cutting the plant persons selected by the farmers in conjunction with the planter's agent might make a rough estimate on the field of the produce of each cultivator, then accompany the carts or boats to the factory, and there see it weighed. As in measuring with the chain much depends on the strength of the man who compresses the bundle, it can seldom

be a fair estimate of the produce, and is likely to give birth to the suspicion of fraud even when there is not the least intention of practising it; this method of computing the indigo crop should be instantly abandoned.

The system of advances is of native origin, and existed ages before Englishmen visited India. Just as it has been in force from time immemorial, it prevails with little or no modification now in every kind of business. It is adopted by the Government in conducting the commissariat, the department of public works, and the monopolies of opium and salt. Merchants, miners, traders, and manufacturers are required to conform to this ancient custom, and even householders who need a carpenter, mason or other artizan to execute a few repairs, are asked to pay a portion of the remuneration before the work is touched. If then farmers object to this system of indigenous growth, which Hindoos and Mahomedans of every class use their utmost endeavours to keep in vogue, it cannot be to the system itself, but to the manner of its operation, and the consequences which it entails. The results of which it is productive are of a grave and painful character, and if due attention be not paid to them indigo must eventually be abandoned, and the millions invested in it diverted to other climes. This would certainly be a great calamity, for every intelligent Englishman who is acquainted with inland counties, cannot fail to perceive how they languish for the want of capital to develop their resources, and European wisdom and energy to originate and conduct works of enterprise. Then divesting ourselves of all feeling arising from difference of race, and with minds unclouded by prejudice, let us endeavour to behold the evils of which complaint is made in the light in which they appear to the poor man who feels their pressure, and in which they would appear to us were we in his place. It is stated that a large portion of the money paid into the hands of the farmer by the planter himself is absorbed by factory servants; the amount thus purloined is reckoned by different persons to be half, a third, or a fourth, and though it is impossible to ascertain the exact sum it is probable it is seldom less than an eighth or a twelfth. Menials in private establishments, mercantile and governmental officers extort similar gratuities which are surrendered to escape annoyance, trouble and vengeance which it is apprehended would be inflicted in case of non-compliance. But the custom, however noxious and widely spread, was created, and continues to be fostered by the abject spirit of the people, consequently the remedy is in their own hands. Let them with a calm firmness they have hitherto not exhibited refuse to be victimized, and at once point out to the

planter or magistrate the villains, who try to wring from them the proceeds of their toil, and in a few months extortions which have been practised for centuries, will every where cease. But it is declared to be almost impossible for a farmer to leave home to go to a distant court to lodge a complaint, because in all probability he would be waylaid, beaten, brought back and ruined. In nearly every Concern the native agents as a matter of course exercise some authority. If the planter be not thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular their power is great; and where there is a frequent change of managers he is for a time entirely in their hands, wholly dependent on them for information about the accounts and the character of the respective cultivators; and this influence is employed to crush persons who resist their tyranny, and to frighten the rest into submission. Hence it happens that a vast amount of evil is perpetrated which never comes to light, the sufferers deeming it expedient to observe a profound silence. We are aware of this deplorable state of things, and yet still recommend a bold and decisive step to be taken, for to persons who refuse to adopt a manly course of action by bringing their grievances to the notice of the executive authorities, the kindest masters, the best human laws, and the most competent administrator can be of no service, and the only prospect open to them is to bear what oppressors may please to inflict, till death terminate their misery.

Some amendment is imperatively called for in drawing up indigo-bonds. A contract is a mutual bargain made without force or fraud for a legal object, and necessarily supposes the stipulating parties are free to deliberate before assenting; and when signed, neither reason, morality, nor law permit abridgment addition, or change. If one of the parties be rich his wealth gives him no power over the document, and if intrusted to his care it is not so much from a consideration of his social position as from the belief that he possesses the honour which usually accompanies it, and would not for any pecuniary advantage, however great, commit forgery, the basest of crimes. No change can be effected except with the consent of the respective persons who affixed their names, which would be equivalent to cancelling the agreement. If this be a right view of such legal instruments, inducing the peasantry to sign blank papers which may afterwards, as circumstances dictate, be filled up without their cognizance, is a practice which must be emphatically condemned. We do not mean to affirm that it is adopted to swindle the poor out of their earnings, or that the document, on which any thing may be written as coming from themselves, is held up as a rod of iron, to be used, should they prove restive, to bend them to the

will of their oppressors. We are prepared to give due consideration to the reason assigned for its adoption. It is pleaded as an apology for this proceeding, that sufficient time cannot be commanded, owing to the reluctance of the cultivators, to give it for an object which they regard as a mere matter of form, and as on a large plantation several thousands come to take advances on the same day, it is found to be impossible to get them to wait till the bonds are properly made out. Here a question arises, what is such an instrument worth, and to what purpose can it be devoted? Into a court of law it cannot be taken, for every judge, except he were ignorant or corrupt, would pronounce it invalid. In the hands of the honest planter, and rectitude is a general characteristic of our countrymen, it can be of no use whatever; forging the requisite legalities, and supporting them by the necessary amount of perjury is a thought that would never enter his mind, and from which he would recoil with loathing and detestation. The impulsive, headstrong and reckless may have no proneness to deeds which betoken a spirit of reptile-meanness, but the cold, hard, and sordid, who can plough up fields of grain, kidnap recusant ryots, confine them in dark holes, beat and starve them into submission, which things have sometimes been done, can give no moral guarantee of his incapability of filling up a blank bond, and turning it to his pecuniary profit. To hope he will be moved from villany by the ruin, sorrow and anguish it creates around him, is to expect grapes from thorns, figs from thistles, and tenderness from stones; for he who wages war against the poor and helpless, lays aside the attributes of humanity for those of the fiend. Why then go through the farce of signing blank papers of which ninety-nine planters out of a hundred possess too much honour to avail themselves, and which can benefit only the bad man that may, as in other communities, now and then come among them? In our city-marts, manufacturing towns, and agricultural districts at home such instruments have never made their appearance, and would be contemned as altogether foreign to the British character. The early European settlers in India found them in vogue, and floating with the stream drifted into the native practice. But now the procedure of planters is scanned by those who watch for their halting, and except they intend to furnish stones for their enemies to pelt them with, this reprehensible custom should be immediately relinquished. The difficulties of altering the system may be great but are not insurmountable. Large firms in Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds, while the works are going on as usual, pay the wages of several thousand hands in the course of an hour or two; and, provided the body of the contract

were previously written out or printed, which might be easily done, and there required to be entered only the position and quantity of the land to be sown, the price to be given for the produce, and the signatures of the contracting parties, and witnesses, a planter, with his European assistants, working hard from morning till night, might get through the labour in a day. If the area of the Concern be very large, and the distance to the chief factory a long journey to many of the farmers, it might be divided into several portions, and the business be done in each. In this manner all the contracts might be finished in three days or a week. To remove the objections which have been raised in courts of law owing to such documents being attested only by servants, who were not believed to be exactly free agents in the matter, two respectable men of the village in which the cultivator resides should, on his part, witness and affix their signatures to the bond, and the planter have the same number of witnesses; and two copies be made of it, the original to remain with the factory records, and the duplicate with the farmer. This would be conducting the affair in a business-like way, every thing would be as clear as noonday, no misunderstanding could afterwards arise, and consequently no suspicion of oppression or fraud. To diminish the period occupied in drawing up bonds, it has been suggested that a respectable man of each village or division of a district might make arrangements with the cultivators, and then taking the whole responsibility on himself contract with the planter. Something of the kind is done in the opium department at Gya and Patna, and in the North West Provinces in indigo. As far as the expediting of business is concerned it has much to recommend it, but the creating of middle-men, who have been injurious to the interests of every country in which they have existed, and who in the course of time would, in all probability, become as fraudulent as the present race of factory servants, is a grave objection to it. Whatever removes the planter and cultivator to a greater distance from each other opens a wide door for the entrance of every thing which is to be deprecated. It is only when they transact business without the intervention of a third party that it is likely to be unaccompanied with injustice, and prove mutually advantageous.

Having pointed out the manner in which contracts should be made, it may be well to inquire if legal protection be needful to insure their fulfilment. Generally speaking, class legislation is repugnant to the spirit of justice, inimical to the prosperity of a country, and destructive to liberty, and is therefore to be deprecated; but sometimes it is called for by imperative necessity, and conducive to the good of the realm. A real statesman will

acquaint himself not only with the abstract principles of law, but with the characteristics of those portions of the community among whom they are to be brought into operation, and will frame measures which combine theoretical knowledge and practical wisdom. For example, on the restoration of peace after intestine war, he would make a distinction between those sections of the nation who to a man stood by the Government in the hour of peril, and those who fought against it; and if he deemed it expedient to disarm those who had been passively or actively hostile to the state, he would never subject to the same ignominy, those who had devoted their influence and lives to its service. These he would regard as a tower of strength, and be rather desirous of giving them such an organization as would render their services still more valuable in future emergencies. But charlatan legislators, for the maintenance of a political formula, which they but imperfectly understand, would treat the loyal and rebellious alike, and thus, unintentionally, do their best to estrange the friends of order, bring back anarchy, and set the country in a blaze. Sir Barnes Peacock, Sir Charles Jackson, and Sir Mordaunt Wells, by their opposition to the Arms Bill, have placed themselves among the wise legislators of the age, and all who are capable of comprehending the exigencies of our Indian empire, will offer them the tribute of respect mingled with gratitude.

Whether the circumstances in which the planter is placed be peculiar and require special laws to meet them is a question worthy of calm consideration.

If the non-fulfilment of the contract arise from circumstances over which the farmer has no control, such as the failure of the crop owing to the want or excess of rain, he should be held in no way responsible for it. Having sown the quantity of land for which he stipulated, and delivered the crop, whether plentiful or otherwise, which it produced, he has virtually fulfilled his agreement, and should the out-turn not cover the advances it must be remembered that he has expended more than double their amount in rent, ploughing, harrowing, weeding, and reaping. In a bad season indigo is a great loss to the ryot, and it is not too much to expect that in Bengal as in Behar, the other contracting party should bear some portion of the risk. Considering the small profit realized in a favourable year, for the planter to debit the cultivator with the whole of the loss is to make misfortune a reason for the perpetration of injustice. If he transport his indigo to the Calcutta or London mart the carriers will not be responsible for accidents caused by the elements, and to avoid the loss to be apprehended

from them he must take the precaution to insure his property. Where then is the justice of making the ryot pay, because Providence sends unpropitious weather? The scanty crop, in the rearing of which he has sustained a pecuniary loss, he delivers to the planter, and one would think equity could demand no more from him; but he is actually fined for the effects of flood and drought, and if unable himself to make compensation for ravages committed by the elements, the burden falls on his children. This brings the farmers under the yoke of an interminable servitude, and rouses their angry feelings. Some of them are now liquidating the debts of their grandfathers, others are greatly augmenting them, and losing all hope of gaining their freedom; and, if the system continue, the next generation will waste its energies in vain attempts to repay advances made to the present. What little prospect there is of the accounts ever being settled may be seen from the evidence given before the commission. As all factories have large out-standing balances, the following statements relating to one concern will enable the reader to form a pretty correct idea of the rest. It appears that the balances owing by the ryots to the Bengal Indigo Company, have been from thirty or forty years in accumulating, and now amount to £77,800; £31,600, it is stated, are in the course of being paid off, but the remaining £46,200 are not immediately recoverable. Indeed there is a suspicion abroad that the planters do not wish these debts to be entirely liquidated, as they are said to give them great power over their tenants: by a sudden demand for payment, and the threat of lodging them in jail if it be not made, they manage it is affirmed, year after year to force reluctant farmers to cultivate indigo. We are not prepared to say out-standing balances have never been turned to such account, but we think such use is now seldom made of them. The planters as a body, would no doubt rejoice if these debts were immediately paid. In many instances they would constitute ample fortunes, and enable proprietors to return to Europe in affluence, who, if things proceed as at present, may soon be reduced to beggary. Whoever is acquainted with the Natives in the way of business, is painfully cognizant of their readiness to receive advances, and of their reluctance to repay them, either in the shape of cash, labour or produce. Knowing these stubborn facts, while we do not discredit every thing, we are disposed to make large deductions from reports which are circulated to the disadvantage of British Settlers.

The greatest hindrance to an amicable adjustment of present differences will be these out-standing balances. Most of them are lawful debts which the cultivators have contracted, and con-

stitute a portion of the property of indigo concerns for which each successive proprietor has been charged when he made the purchase; consequently the courts can use their authority only to enforce payment, or inflict punishment for its not being tendered; and this instead of improving matters would in most cases ruin both parties. The only way to remove the impediment is for the planter to make concessions like those suggested by J. Forlong Esq. On the ryot agreeing to sow indigo for five years and completing his engagement, to remit the old balances, and to prevent similar debts being incurred, to give him, in the event of a failure of the crop, a reasonable allowance for rent and labour.

Under the present law the planter has no effectual remedy either against the fraudulent practices of the cultivator, or those of the ill-disposed and unscrupulous zemindar. Even with a decree in his favour he seldom obtains redress, for it is found to be almost impossible to execute it. If circumstances be favourable it is probable that the first trial of the case may be finished in two or three months. This however may turn out to be only one stage in the business; the defendant has the privilege of appeal of which he will perhaps avail himself, and if there happen to be many cases on the file, several months may elapse before the suit be called for, and when brought on, it may be remanded to be tried anew, which will cause further loss of time. At the termination of the new trial a special appeal is admissible, and as the object of the defaulting ryot is not to obtain a reversal of the judgment, of which he may not have the least hope, but to cause delay, and prevent the decree being executed, it is highly probable that this appeal will be made. When the higher has confirmed the sentence of the lower tribunal, and ordered it to be carried into force, a notification of the sale of the property, consisting of huts, cattle, crops on the field, and grain in store, is issued; then numerous claimants come forward, and prove by well concocted documentary evidence that nearly every thing was mortgaged to them long before the suit of the planter was instituted. It is true that Regulation 11, of 1806 was framed to prevent such alienation, but it requires, and properly too, proof of intention to alienate before attachment can be made, and as it is very difficult and often impossible, as all who are acquainted with the country know, to procure proof of such intention, this act seldom affords the plaintiff redress. If he be not already weary of the uncertainties of the law he may try to get the self-impovertished debtor imprisoned, and, to mend matters, thus throw away more money by paying for his maintenance while in jail.

A judge of the chief Court of Appeal says. 'The planter is obliged to make large advances, and has no security but the good faith of the ryot, who is at the beck and nod of his zemindar or mahajun. He has a large interest at stake, and can never recover the loss incurred by failure of the ryot to meet his engagement. I may here instance the powerful influence a zemindar has over his ryots. When I took charge, as Magistrate of Nuddea, the Raja of Berhampore had a quarrel with Messrs. Hills and White, and forbade the ryots to cultivate indigo, and not a man for miles round certain factories would take advances. I proceeded to the spot, examined many of the ryots, they had nothing to complain of, acknowledged that they had received liberal advances, but said they would not cultivate indigo any more, though they had done so for years. Nor were Messrs. Hills and White able to make advances until they had taken the Mehal in Putnee, and paid a handsome salamee to the Raja. If the influence of the zemindar be sufficient to prevent the ryots taking advances, very little exertion of that influence is, I apprehend, sufficient to make them break their contracts, and it is from the effects of this baneful influence that planters ought to be protected, for they cannot, under any circumstances, obtain redress against the real party who causes their loss.' *

Losses arising from similar fraud are sustained in all other branches of business. The fellers of timber in the Morung, Chittagong, and Burmah are in the habit of receiving advances, and of selling the wood to third parties. Large advances are also made to dealers in cocoons, and it not unfrequently happens that instead of taking them to the manufacturer with whom they had contracted they dispose of them at the market price to another person, and thus by two sales of the same article obtain double its value. In the grain, oil-seed, sugar, hemp, and cotton trades, the same dishonesty is constantly practised. The sufferer by the fraud might prosecute the rogues in the civil courts, but as such prosecution is expensive, exceedingly dilatory, and the obtaining of justice quite uncertain, he seldom thinks it worth his while to appeal to those tribunals.

As the old law was found to afford no practical remedy for the loss and inconvenience which manufacturers, tradesmen and others sustained in the Presidency Towns from fraudulent breaches of contract by artificers, workmen, and labourers who had received advances, the penal Act XIII of 1859, was framed to meet the emergency. As in the interior of the country the same evils are experienced in every branch of business a similar

* G. Loch Esq. Blue Book, on Indigo Cultivation in Bengal, pp. 63-4.

law ought to be enacted to check them, and small Cause Courts established for its summary administration by European judges; but to be effectual and afford proper security to both capital and labour it must be made to reach not only fraudulent contractors, but all persons who are found guilty of seducing them by bribery or intimidation to break their engagements.* Every individual purposing to avail himself of the law, it is urged, should be under the necessity of sending his contracts to be entered in the records of the court, within ten or twenty days after their execution, and no prosecution be allowed on bonds presented when the period for their registration had elapsed. By a strict observance of these provisions it is thought contracts would be drawn up on the day they were dated, and not written, as is now sometimes the case, just before the suit is instituted, and with the base design of bringing the defendant to ruin. At first sight this appears plausible, but will hardly bear examination. In the event of a trial being instituted, all that the due administration of the law requires is, that the judge should be furnished with irrefragable proof of the bond being genuine, and this is secured by its being made in duplicate, and a copy remaining with each of the parties, signed by their respective witnesses. The most vigilant guardians of such documents are the individuals personally interested in them, and who would sustain pecuniary loss should they be tampered with. In every part of the civilized world this consideration is deemed sufficiently powerful to make each contractor watchful lest he be overreached, and to detect and punish forgery should it be practised. It is however contended that this is not enough to protect the rural population of India, yet the ryots are not intellectually inferior to the peasantry of other lands. They know the relative value of the rupee, anna, gunda and cowrie, and likewise the difference between a week and a day, a year and a month; they marry, exercise parental authority, and perform all the duties of life; they enter courts of law as witnesses both in civil and criminal cases, and decisions of the greatest importance are founded on their testimony; they are pronounced capable of paying proper regard to their own interest in growing and disposing of every kind of produce excepting one; it is only when indigo is in question that the Government considers them children, and thinks it advisable to make them register their engagements. To give permission to register bonds and afford every facility for doing so would be proper, but to render it compulsory would

* Since the above was written, a law has been enacted which constitutes breach of contract a criminal offence.

defeat the ends of justice. It is, highly, probable that in the rural districts not three per cent of the people can read, and the number able to peruse a contract, so as thoroughly to understand it, is considerably less. In such a state of things, the best guardians of the labouring poor are the respectable men of the village in which they reside, whom they are accustomed to consult in all matters of importance, and of whose counsel they can avail themselves without the expenditure of money or time; but the advice and aid, which, as neighbours, they are ever prepared to give at home, they would decline to travel to the record office and tender there, so that were the registration of bonds made compulsory, there would necessarily arise a class of scriveners, composed for the most part of persons who attend the present courts, in whom generally speaking little confidence can be placed, who falsify documents they are paid to write if the *douceur* from the opposite party be large, purloin papers from the file and place in their stead others of a different character, and can be bribed to perform any amount of forgery and perjury that may be required. Did the truth of these statements need confirmation, we might refer to the portrait J. Forlong Esq. has drawn of an individual pleader, which is a graphic likeness of the majority of the class. That gentleman says: 'I may give you a specimen of their character from what one of the leading mooktyars of the place said to me two or three years ago. I met the man accidentally, and inquired how he was getting on, he replied, "Very well, but that he was getting too old to carry on the business of certain wealthy zemindars any longer." I said to him, that I thought they were by far his best clients; he confessed they were, but he was too near the "Ganges" or death, to go on with the business. He then acknowledged that it was the rule of the country and the custom, for a mooktyar to tell a witness all he had to say, but added, "I am obliged also to get all the witnesses, and, worst of all, forge all the documents, and this I cannot go on doing." This was stated to me without the slightest concealment or sense of shame, and as calmly as if the man were talking about the state of the weather. I consider this to be not only a true illustration of the morals of mooktyars practising in the courts, but also a sure indication of what is daily and hourly going on in every court in Bengal.*'

The consequence of throwing the industrious poor into such rapacious hands can readily be imagined; but suppose honest scriveners could be obtained, the magnitude of the business would present a serious impediment to its being speedily and properly

* Indigo Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, taken at Kishnaghur, p. 46.

done, for in one county probably as many as 50,000 contracts would have to be written at the same season of the year. In 1835, this important subject was submitted to the Law Commissioners, when Lord Macaulay wrote an able minute upon it, in which he says, 'A great number of registrars would be necessary to conduct the examination into all these agreements. And the registrar intrusted with the conduct of such an examination must be no common man. He must be not only a man of sense, but what in this country it is hard to find, a man of independence and integrity, a man who will dare to stand up for a poor native against a rich Englishman. It would be hard to find such functionaries in sufficient numbers. It would be absolutely necessary to pay them well; and after all it may well be doubted whether the advantages which the labourers would derive from such a system of guardianship would compensate for the journey, the attendance, the trouble, and the loss of time.'

'The general rule which is followed all over the world is this, that no judicial verification of a contract shall take place till it is alleged that the contract has been broken. At present it is probable that not one contract in a thousand is in any country on the earth the subject of a law suit. If the immense majority of contracts were not performed without legal investigation and decision, the world could not go on for a day.'*

It is stated the cultivation of indigo is not remunerative, and, except when the plant is grown with cereal or oil-seed crops, it is generally admitted that the profit is small, but reference is sometimes made to the collateral advantages afforded the peasantry, as being a compensation for the little gain realized in favourable years, and for the loss sustained in bad seasons. These advantages are the granting of loans without interest; the circulation of capital in the districts where factories are situated, the payment of household expenses, domestic servants, overseers, clerks, ploughmen, labourers, carters, and boatmen; protection from oppression inflicted by the police, zemindars, and survey-ameens; acting as arbitrators in the settlement of family-quarrels, assaults, village-feuds, claims of creditors, boundary questions, and things of a similar nature; rendering great pecuniary aid in making wells, reservoirs, water-courses, roads and bridges; and the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, and schools. But such incidental blessings accompany the steps of Englishmen wherever they settle, and ought not to be considered a justifiable reason for underrating the value of produce or

* Indigo-Commissioner's Report, Appendix No. 14, pp. 82-3.

labour. They are the fruits of civilization, and can no more be sold in the market than rain and sunshine. It is better to regard these collateral advantages as inseparably connected with our sojourn in India, and strive to augment them a thousand fold.

Previous to the insurrection an increase had been made on many plantations in the wages of day-labourers, and also in the hire of ploughs, carts and boats; and though the remuneration for indigo had a long time been stationary, there was reason to believe it could not have continued so, and that the farmers would have obtained the real worth of the plant without the interposition of the executive authorities of Government. Had the contending parties been left to settle between themselves the value of this commodity, as they do that of every other, and the magistrate used his power only to punish breaches of the peace, and secure to all persons perfect freedom in the exercise of their legal rights, there can be no doubt that the planter, if he found it to be necessary, would have offered the highest price he could afford to pay, and the ryot swayed by a regard to his pecuniary interests would have accepted the rate, if it appeared to him likely to be advantageous. Thus a great change would have been quietly effected in this important branch of agriculture and commerce. Had it happened that they could not come to terms, it would have proved that indigo could not compete with other products, and the millions invested in it would gradually have found their way to climes more favourable to the cultivation of the plant. Non-interference with capital and labour is a law dictated by the soundest policy, strictly observed by British statesmen, and departure from it has ever produced, what is now witnessed in Bengal, results of the most disastrous character. Had it not been for Mr. Grant's uncalled for interposition, the planters and peasantry would have arrived at an amicable arrangement, but the difficulties of making it he has increased a hundred fold. He has excited a spirit of contempt for the rights of property and the sanctions of law such as had never appeared in the provinces over which he presides, since they came under our rule, and had he possessed only a portion of the talent of an ordinary administrator, their tranquillity, uninterrupted more than a century, would not have been disturbed. In the North West Provinces and the Punjab it will be found necessary to increase the remuneration for the indigo-plant, for the price paid there is not higher than what is given here, but Mr. Edmonstone, and Sir Robert Montgomery, who have ruled those portions of the empire with wisdom, will leave the parties concerned to effect the change

themselves, and not by insane meddling ruin both capitalist and labourers.

During the last three years rice and other grain have sold at prices unusually high, consequently their cultivation has been much more lucrative than formerly; this has rendered an increased rate of remuneration for growing indigo absolutely necessary, and unless it be given, no new arrangements that may be made can be of a permanent character. By comparing the profits of ten years' indigo cultivation with those of rice for the same period, it might be ascertained what is needed to make the annual average gain of the former equal to that of the latter. As the augmentation required would not be the same in every district, and would be determined by a variety of circumstances, no sum can be mentioned that would be suitable in all cases. The wisest course is to leave the parties concerned to settle the matter, without the interference of the state. They are fully alive to their own interests, and quite capable of forming a sound judgment respecting them. There need be no apprehension of indigo having to be abandoned because the profits realized from it are too small to afford the ryot a higher remuneration for the plant. Speaking of the expense of producing it, and of the market-price of the dye, W. Moran Esq. says, 'In Tirhoot, for the last three years, the seasons have been moderately favourable, whereas in Bengal, it has been the reverse. In these years, I should say that the average of cost in Tirhoot, exclusive of interest and Calcutta agency charges, was about 110 rupees a maund, and in Bengal for the same period from 140 to 150Rs. But in an ordinary run of years, I should think that they would make the indigo in both divisions, at about the same cash cost. With the exception of a few Bengal Concerns, celebrated for fine quality, there are now scarcely more than ten or fifteen rupees difference between the Bengal and Tirhoot indigo, in favor of the former, Tirhoot indigo having of late improved in quality very much. The average selling price of Bengal and Tirhoot indigo has been for the last three years, say for Bengal 210, and Tirhoot 195 to 200.*'

We feel persuaded, that the planting enterprise will contribute to the material prosperity of the country, and indirectly to its spiritual welfare, and therefore wish to see it conducted on a larger scale. Instead of regarding it as opposed to religion, we class it, when rightly pursued, among other legitimate branches of trade, which are not only sanctioned by Christianity, but have

* Indigo Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence, taken in Calcutta, July 24, 1860, para. 23.

flourished most under its shadow. The gospel and commerce have gone hand in hand eighteen hundred years, and cannot now separate as enemies. At present, however, we are not sanguine about the fortunes of the planters, but fear many of them will be ruined, and that at home the religious and political world will vie with each other in loading them with contumely, for the accounts which have been published will doubtless make a deep impression, and kindle in the bosoms of the humane burning indignation ; but when sophistry, error, and malignity have exhausted their strength, the voice of truth will gain a hearing and turn the tide of opinion ; for the English, though liable to mighty prejudices, are honest to the core, and when once they begin to reason their characteristic love of fair play will resume its influence, and the effusion of their wrath will descend on the heads of the real culprits.

Before concluding this paper we beg to observe, that among the boons European Settlers require, none can be more important than permission to purchase land in fee simple, unclogged with conditions, and a representative government. In other dependencies of the Crown land has been thus disposed of, and after a struggle more or less protracted emigrants have entered the national council. Love of freedom, self-respect, prudence, and indomitable energy gained the battle, and the same qualities will achieve the victory in India. After these changes have taken place there will still remain an evil of great magnitude, the gross ignorance of the people, which impedes nearly every branch of business, seriously affects the administration of justice, and in 1857 proved sufficiently powerful to jeopardize the British Raj. Sound knowledge, both secular and religious, must be given if we wish to raise the natives, and accomplish the grand purpose for which providence committed India to our charge. This is a work not for the clergy alone, but in which laymen of every section of the Church have to take a part, and here, as is generally the case, interest and duty are united. The gospel brings in its train all earthly benefits ; in every country where it has been propagated it has nourished liberty, trade, commerce, science, literature, and the arts ; so that irrespective of the happiness of an immortal life which it communicates, it sheds on all who come within the range of its influence a plenitude of temporal blessings. When educated and christianized the rural population of India will be a noble race, and rank among the finest peasantry in the world. Such we believe the ryots will one day be. In feeling this assurance we do not dream, but cherish a hope encouraged by Heaven. The time will come, and may be nearer than external appearances would lead us to suppose,

when the mummeries and villanies of a superstition, which has ruled its votaries with a rod of iron for thousands of years, will cease to be acted, heathen shrines be forgotten, filthy songs, chanted in honour of filthy gods, be effaced from the memory of the people, and the church-bell be heard in every village, calling men to tread the courts of the Lord and hallow the sabbath.

- ART. III.—*Modern Painters*. Vol. V. By John Ruskin, M. A.,
 London: Smith, Elder & Co.
2. *Homer and the Homeric Age*. 3 Vols. By W. E. Gladstone,
 M. P. London: J. H. & J. Parker.
3. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of
 Elizabeth*. 4 Vols. By James Anthony Froude. London:
 J. W. Parker.
4. *History of Friedrich the Second, called Frederick the Great*.
 Vols. I. & II. By Thomas Carlyle. London: Chapman & Hall.

A T first glance it will seem as though it were absolutely impossible that the writers, whose names head this article, should have any thing in common. And it will be as well if we at once confess, that we have no hope either of forging any new links between the subjects of which they have treated, or of propounding any novel theory of the universe, which may embrace them all. But the most cursory reader of their recent works must have been struck by one peculiarity, which he cannot deny to any of them. However interesting the book, however numerous and beautiful the new views of things which it may have disclosed to him, however great the pleasure he has derived from its perusal, yet, in the majority of cases, he closes it with convictions diametrically opposed to those which the author had hoped to produce in his mind, or at best, he rises with heavy doubts upon the very point which it was the main object of the work to establish conclusively. The banks of the river were perfect, but it has ended in a quicksand, or, worse, in space *pur et simple*. For instance, there is no work on art, Modern or Ancient, at all comparable with the five volumes to which Ruskin has affixed the title of *Modern Painters*. They present a somewhat formidable appearance, but are in point of fact, entirely free from any technicalities that may not be understood by the merest tyro. They are full of original and subtle criticism not only on pictures, but on poetry also; nor can any body read them without acquiring both facts and principles, whereby he may be enabled to turn what critical power he may be gifted with, to better account than the supercilious detection of spots in the sun, which is the common criterion of taste. Above all, they open a man's eyes to what may be called the laws of external form—the laws which regulate the variety of shapes and colours taken by clouds, rocks, trees, 'the earth and every common sight.' These laws, again, are given in no dry scientific definitions, but are derived, traced and illustrated, not from pictures only, but from our own everyday experience. And lastly, Ruskin's language, though at times undoubtedly marred by an absence of self-restraint, and then defaced by an extra-

vagance verging upon rant; yet is at once copious, perspicuous, and distinguished by an eloquence all its own.

Such and so agreeable is the road—beautified and diversified in every imaginable way by the genius of its designer. Yet it is only the road; and what is the goal towards which its maker conceives it to be but the means of conducting those who may be tempted to tread it? There are few to whom it would not be a mortification to know, that most people look on them as being only *accidentally* of any use in the world; that if they were successful in their intentions they would be a nuisance, or do positive harm, but that, thanks to the fact that their intentions are of far too chimerical a nature ever to be realized, or to obtain any dangerous number of partizans, their exertions and struggles towards those intentions can be looked at *per se*, and may be thus indirectly beneficial or not, as the case may be. Our deep sense of the obligations owed by the world generally to Ruskin, has already been expressed, and the fruit of his lessons is to be seen in the great pictures that have been produced in England during the last ten years. Yet we should be inclined to retract what we have said in praise of the work, were it possible to conceive the world generally abandoning its common sense and adopting the faith, which, after all, it is Ruskin's main object to preach in it. This creed contains two clauses. "I believe in Turner—I abjure all England else," is perhaps the shortest mode of conveying it. No painter was ever equal to Turner: but alas! he was an Englishman of the nineteenth century, not a Venetian of the fourteenth. And great as he was, he could but paint, thwarted and dwarfed by the degraded tone of thought, feeling and taste, prevalent in English society. Hence his shortcomings as an artist—hence his penurious habits—hence his lonely and miserable life. The failure and unhappiness of so great a man does but point the moral with treble force, that, if we do not at once change our whole mode and manner of life, if we do not dismiss men-servants from an employ so degrading to the *male* sex, if we do not forthwith pull our old houses down and erect gothic edifices in their room,* if we do

* This was the original proposition. It appears to have struck our author afterwards that it was rather too expensive to be practical. For (if we remember right) it is argued in the Edinburgh Lectures.—"If we cannot do this, we can do something—we can build gothic porches to our doorways." Ruskin could never defend an architectural incongruity like this on *Æsthetic* grounds. But by a most gross misapplication of a Scriptural text, he reminds his hearers that they will be thus affording shelter to the poor. Even self complacency has its limits: and we have never yet met a man who would feel the glow of charity upon him, on the ground, that, when stepping in to his dinner, he had left a beggar provided with a roof in his porch.

not spend our money on their outsides, instead of selfishly making ourselves comfortable in their interior; above all, if we do not utterly and from our hearts abjure the blasphemous science of political economy, and in its stead adopt and act upon such views as were lately promulgated in certain papers, which saw strange light in the *Cornhill Magazine*, we may no longer hope that any good thing will come forth from England. Turner himself saw and felt this. 'The age had bound him too 'in its benumbing round.' And he gave clear expression to the bitterness of his feelings, in what to common eyes is a very beautiful landscape—The garden of the Hesperides—but which really is a grand yet melancholy allegory—The Assumption of the Dragon, in lieu of the Virgin—deciphered by Ruskin, and the key to which he now bestows on the nation. Perhaps the riddle did not present much difficulty to the man, of whose fancy it is the pure invention.

We have no liking for quotations, yet, lest we should be accused of exaggerating or distorting our author's views, we are compelled to take a few from the volume of the work published during the last year. All acquainted with other works of his, will at once be aware that these might be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

'So far as in it lay, this century has caused every one of its 'great men, whose hearts were kindest and whose spirits most 'perceptive of the work of God, to die without hope—Scott, Keats, 'Byron, Shelley, Turner. Great England of the Ironheart now, 'not of the Lionheart; for these souls of her children, an account 'may perhaps be one day required of her.'

'All his failure and error, deep and strange, came of his faith- 'lessness—faithlessness or despair—the despair which has been 'shown to be characteristic of this present century, most sor- 'rowfully manifested in its greatest men, but existing in an in- 'finitely more fatal form in the lower and general mind.' Part IX. Chapter 12, p. 4.

Or again. 'I had no conception of the absolute darkness 'which has covered the national mind in this respect' (the relation of God to man,) 'until I came into collision with persons 'engaged in the study of economical or political questions.' Vol. V. page 348.

'The greatest man of our England in the first half of the '19th century, in the strength and hope of his youth, perceives 'this to be the thing he has to tell us of utmost moment, con- 'nected with the Spiritual World. * * * Here in England is 'our great spiritual fact for ever interpreted to us, the Assump- 'tion of the Dragon. No St. George any more to be heard 'of! This child, born on St. George's day, can only make mani-

' fest the Dragon, not,slay him. The fairy English queen once
' thought to command the waves, but it is the Sea-dragon that
' commands her valleys. Of old, the Angel of the sea ministered
' to them, but now the Serpent of the sea.' Part IX. Chapter 10,
H. 25. .

So far, we have only quoted passages of prophetic denuncia-
tion; the following, though not a whit more absurd, may be more
certain of provoking a smile. He is speaking of the clouds, but
cannot resist the chance of an allusion to his theory.

' But when the storm is more violent they are tossed into
' fragments, and magnificent revolving wheels of vapour are
' formed, broken, and tossed into the air, even as the grass is tossed
' in the hay field from the toothed wheels of the mowing machine,
' (perhaps, *in common with all other inventions of the kind*, likely to
' bring more evil upon men than ever the Medusa-cloud did, and
' turn them more effectually into stone.)' Vol. V. page 147.

We are not among those who consider that Ruskin has set
Turner on a pinnacle one inch too high above other landscape
painters: we sympathize with his indignation in finding, in
the catalogue of the Royal Academy for 1859, *Calcott* and *Claude*
described as Turner's equals. We have already given a very in-
adequate expression to our admiration of the book in its parts.
But what it is our present object to draw attention to, is the
strangeness of the purpose to which our author desires those
parts to be subservient. The above is a correct statement of the
whole *drift* of the work, and it militates so strongly against
common sense, that it is almost a waste of words to encounter it.
Ruskin labours, and as no other man could labour: but he seems
to leave to others the privilege of reaping the fruit of his labours.
The conclusion which most people would draw from a perusal of
the book, is that great works *have* been painted and produced
during this much abused century. We have already hinted, that
the appeal to any picture painted by Turner, is not in the
slightest degree justified by fact. Ruskin's interpretation both
of that fable of the Hesperides, and of some others, is as far
fetched as any in Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients*; with this
difference, that Bacon's are professedly fanciful. He never ascrib-
ed to primitive ages the pregnant subtleties of his own brain:
whereas Ruskin can write concerning the fables of the *Medusa*,
Pegasus, *Danaë* and the *Danaïds*. 'Few of us have thought, in
' watching its career across on 'our' mossy hills, or listening to
' the murmur of the springs, that the chief masters of the human
' imagination owed, and confessed that they owed, the force of
' their noblest thoughts, not to the flowers of the valley nor the
' majesty of the hill, but to the flying cloud." (Vol. V. part VII

Chapter 4.) We would add that any appeal to Turner's life in the same cause is a wrong, both to the men and to the country which he adorned. He lived through and past obloquy into wealth; and that wealth was a substantial proof that there *was* appreciation of his powers. He found fit audience though few. Ruskin has been rather the popularizer and analyzer than the discoverer of his genius. And he died fulfilling the darling object of his life, presenting his country with a noble heirloom in a gallery of his own works, and bequeathing a sum larger than the Clive Fund to the foundation of a like institution for English Artists. Whether he was personally happy or not, is a question with which we have nothing to do. Even Ruskin will hardly find English Society guilty of determining those points in a man's temper, which go to the making up of private happiness. All we would insist upon is, that the contemplation of his course leads ordinary people to a conclusion, again precisely opposed to that drawn from it by Ruskin. For assuredly in his case, this vile soul-benumbing nineteenth century *did* afford its opportunities for a great painter to lead a noble life; nor was anything found in it to prevent those opportunities being pushed and used to the utmost.

But there are other sinners in the same direction and on the same scale, and amongst them we must include even Gladstone. That it has been a labour of love to him to compose his three volumes on Homer, and that he has spared no pains to render them as exhaustive as possible, is evident to anybody who may read the work. The first contains a treatise on the ethnology of the races to whom, and of whose ancestors Homer sang. This we would rather treat of in connexion with the third, which contains, in the first place, an admirably drawn contrast between Greece and Troy as exhibited in the *Iliad*, and, in the second place, (what we must consider as the most valuable portion of the work,) a criticism on Homer as a poet, and on the use made of him by succeeding generations of poets. The second volume is entitled, the Religion of the Homeric age, and in it is included by far the subtlest analysis of Greek Divinities, as exhibited by Homer, that has yet appeared. For Gladstone shows, on the one hand, more discriminative power than Colonel Mure, and, on the other, more imagination—we mean more power of truly appreciating the poet's view,—than Grote. But here our sympathy must end. The analysis is admirable: but what is the aim of the analyzer? He has analyzed Homeric Mythology, believing that he thereby proves, that in it are to be found clear traces of two great revealed traditions;—the tradition of a Trinity, and the tradition of a Redeemer.

Now we may follow even the stream of direct revelation, and yet find no trace of any such definite doctrine as the former, until we arrive at the early Christian Church. We confess, if we may be allowed to adopt a similar misapplication of modern terms, that we had always looked upon the Jewish people, from the patriarchs downwards, as sincere *Unitarians*, and had imagined that their retention of that faith through so many centuries of idolatrous paganism, had been at once the distinctive mark and the divine privilege of that nation only upon earth. Gladstone is somewhat vague as to the source from which the tradition is derived. But he appears to have a strictly literal belief in the early chapters of Genesis; and if there is any meaning at all in what he implies, the belief in the Trinity must have been so strong before the dispersion of the world at Babel, it must have owned such vitality, as to colour and model a false and corrupt mythology centuries after. We hope we are not taking Sydney Smith's name in vain, yet we cannot help thinking that he would have exulted and revelled over such a proposition. Conceive Enoch and his cotemporaries being able to repeat anything similar to the doctrinal portion of the Athanasian Creed! or Noah having doubts in his youth on the divinity of the Third Person! It runs counter to all our ideas to imagine the giants orthodox members of the Church. Events are said to recur in cycles: and it is possible that the Arian controversy was but the repetition of that original of all religious feuds—the split between the children of Cain and the children of Seth. We trust that irreverence will not be imputed to us on such a subject. What we desire, is to bring in as palpable a form as possible before our readers, the gross anachronism into which Gladstone has been betrayed, at once by his ingenuity and his enthusiasm in support of a religious theory. Yet it would

- not be one whit less absurd to charge Job, the first Arab known to us, with a leaning towards Mahommedanism, than to argue that a formula, which is a deduction, and, we devoutly believe, a true deduction from the Gospel, was held as an article of faith in the Antediluvian era. And surely it is more natural to suppose, that the supremacy of the trio, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, was but the exaltation of the powers that ruled over the three unknown, and, to early ages, awful regions, the Heavens, the Sea, and the Future World, above the Deities of the common Earth, than to suppose with Gladstone that it was the relic of a distant doctrine; even granting (which we do not) that the doctrine of the Trinity had ever been fully disclosed, and never lost, among the ordained preservers of revelation.

Indeed, the second tradition of which Gladstone seeks and finds the traces, *was* kept alive among the Jews by frequent and divine iteration. Yet none the less is it the merest exercise of fancy, to explore the realms of Heathen mythology for proofs of its vitality among other nations. All that Gladstone really discovers is, that the early Greeks were not deficient in the religious instinct, which led men in all parts of the world to believe that their gods can save them in time of trouble. This is hardly entitled to the name of a discovery. But what he attempts to prove is, that the functions of an universal mediator and redeemer are to be found distributed amongst three Homeric Deities, Apollo, Minerva and Diana, and that though the conception of these functions had been corrupted, yet, such as it remained, it may be clearly traced up to the primitive revelation of that Divine Plan by which man was to be saved. But we all know that even the Jews did not understand the true purport of the prophecies addressed to them. The height of their expectation was a heavenly deliverance of their own tribes. Here, then, we are brought to the same stop which met us in our consideration of the first proposition. For in point of fact, that Divine Plan, so far from having sunk into the heart of the world before Babel, remained a sealed book even to the Jews, until it was given to St. Paul to open it, and to expound the riddle of past prophecy in full.

One inconsistency may be worth pointing out. Gladstone conclusively proves that the three Deities in whom he supposes that the conception of a Redeemer, however degraded and corrupted in its transmission, is embodied, occupy an anomalous position in the mythology. They have special privileges, an independence of action, and a purity of sentiment not attributed to other Gods. The distinction is a remarkable one, and it is drawn out with great refinement of thought. It is stated also as tending to establish the truth of his opinion, regarding the idea of which they are the representatives. But assuredly no such distinctive qualities can be claimed for Jupiter, or even for Neptune or Pluto. If representatives of the Tradition of the Trinity can find their natural place in a Heathen mythology, the importation of extraneous elements is not of great force as an argument, to prove that there is a similar representation of another tradition derived from the same source.

We fear that we are occupying too much space with a subject of little general interest; and we therefore pass over many other considerations suggested to us by this volume. Far more unqualified praise is due to the chapters, which treat of the morality of

that primitive age, Yet even in these a certain *obliquity of purpose* is again perceptible. For instance many pages are devoted to proving that the damsels of the period did not personally assist at the ablutions of chance visitors to their fathers or husbands. The question is supposed to hinge on a point of Greek grammar—the exact meaning of the three voices. It has never been denied that they contributed some service, nor is even Gladstone disinclined to admit that, for example, they filled the tub. He would rather quote such custom as evidence of the genuine hospitality then prevalent. But he is naturally indignant that an imputation should be thrown on the moral purity of his favourite century by mere grammarians. We think that he beats the air with perfect success and carries his point against all comers. But the disquisition was, we venture to hold, supererogatory. Most people consider that we have changed for the better since the time of Nausicaa, yet none but a German, frantic for grammar, would hold that so marvellous a revolution had taken place in the sentiments of fathers and husbands, as would be implied in the supposition, so successfully combated.

We stated above that it would be more convenient to review the first volume in connection with the third. In fact, we believe that a thorough refutation of the views propounded in the former is by implication contained in the latter. Gladstone refers the origin of the Greeks to the fusion of two tribes, the Hellenes who, he supposes, came from Persia, and the Pelasgians whom he brings from Egypt. Now, the East was without doubt the cradle of all Asian or Indo-germanic nations. But it is not in this undeniable sense that Gladstone would stamp an Eastern origin upon the Greeks. One main result of his argument, is to assign their immigration into the Archipelago and Europe to a date far more recent, than could possibly be assigned to the dim and distant movements of the primitive fathers of many nations. We will not burden our pages with a disquisition on a subject interesting to the philologist only. But Gladstone has himself furnished us with a conclusive reply. Never has the poetry of Homer been more thoroughly appreciated, never has his power of delineating character been set in so strong and clear a light, never has the ordinary life, social and political, of that early age been so subtly deduced or so fully expounded, as by our author in his third Volume. And therefore it is that we wonder all the more, that the eloquent critic, who feels so keenly the peculiar excellencies of the Greeks, should also be the philologist who would refer their progenitors to a directly oriental source. For not only are those excellences essentially

of an European character, but they are also, and perhaps by consequence, the exact antithesis of the forms taken by all Eastern systems of civilization. Enough has already been written on the subject of their religion; but it may be interesting to set in brief contrast the different views taken by the two races on three other points, hardly less telling as tests,—Politics, Art, and the Treatment of women.

On the first we cannot do better than quote Gladstone himself. The passages selected are also characteristic specimens of his style.

‘But that which is beyond every thing distinctive, not of Greece only but of Homeric Greece, is that along with an outline of sovereignty and public institutions highly patriarchal, we find the full, constant, and effective use of two great instruments of Government, since and still so extensively in abeyance among mankind, viz, publicity and persuasion.’

‘Amid undeveloped ideas, rude methods, imperfect organization, and liability to the frequent intrusion of the strong hand, there lies in them the essence of a popular principle of Government, which cannot plead on its behalf any other precedent so ancient and so venerable.’ Vol. III. p. 7.

Again. ‘The speeches which Homer has put into the mouths of his leading orators should be tolerably fair representatives of the best performances of the time. Nor is it possible, that in any age there should be in a few the capacity of making such speeches, without a capacity in many for receiving, feeling and comprehending them. Poets of modern times have composed great works in ages that stopped their ears against them. *Paradise Lost* does not represent the time of Charles II, nor the *Excursion*, the first decades of the present century. The case of the orator is entirely different. His work from its very inception is inextricably mixed up with practice. It is an influence principally received from his audience in vapour, which he pours back upon them in a flood. The sympathy and concurrence of his time is, with his own mind, joint parent of his work. He cannot follow nor frame ideals. His choice is to be what his age will have him, what it requires in order to be moved by him, or else not to be at all. And as when we find the speeches in Homer, we know that there must have been men who could speak them, so from the existence of units who could speak them, we know that there must have been crowds who could feel them.’ Vol. III. p. 107.

We should apologize for the length of this quotation, but apart from our present purpose, it is of considerable interest as containing our greatest living orator’s view of his own art. One more and we have done.

'The king was not the fountain-head of the common life, but only its exponent. The source lay in the community. So deeply imbedded is this sentiment in the mind of the poet, that he could not conceive an assemblage having any kind of common function, without their having, so to speak, a common soul in respect to it. Of this common soul the organ is the "Some body," by no means one of the least remarkable, though he has been one of the least regarded personages of the poem. The Some body of Homer is, I apprehend, what in England we now call Public Opinion.' Vol. III. p. 141.

In these pages the line which our argument would take can only be indicated; but detail is hardly necessary in so striking a contrast. Were it true, that the emigration of the Greeks from Asia had taken place within any appreciable period, it would be impossible that a picture of their political aims and practice should be so precisely the antithesis to all the desires and tendencies of their oriental kindred. Trace back the history of the East to ages more remote than that of Homer; and you will ever find, in lieu of publicity, the same irresponsible secrecy, in lieu of persuasion, the same imperial disregard of the common herd, which mark Eastern despotisms to this day. Contrast the liberty of remonstrance, repartee, and even, as in the case of Thersites, of coarse invective, allowed to dissentients from Agamemnon—contrast the spirit involved in the very existence of oratory at all—with the timid apologies in which the most venturesome of oriental courtiers occasionally plucked up courage enough to shroud advice. Or imagine a Pharaoh controlled by public opinion! In the West the governors ever considered the will of the governed as the main thing to be studied, if not to be followed: in the East the tendency was ever to invert the relation. Even granting that there was no original difference in race, yet the operation of physical agencies upon man, though sure, is slow. And centuries must have lapsed, before two such full-blown variations on a common ancestry, as the Persian and Egyptian types on the one hand, and the Greek type on the other, could have been brought about by differences in the climate, the soil, and the conformation of their respective countries.

With regard to the second point, it would be easy to expatiate upon the contrast between the poems of Homer himself, and all the early literature of the East. In brief, the object of the former was to set before his hearers lively types of independent and individual character, or rather his object was to give pleasure. But our argument is all the stronger, if it was on account of its being the surest method of giving pleasure to his

audience, and not of his own fancy only, that the poet founded the interest of his story on the marked characteristics of a few individuals. The object of the early Eastern sage was ever to glorify the system into which all individuality should be absorbed; to set forth in striking opposition the insignificance of the human unit, as compared with the grandeur of the whole of which it was its privilege to form a part. And in all we know of their lighter literature, from the *Sakootalá* down to the *Arabian Nights'* Entertainment, no man is ever painted as carving out a path or career for himself. Riches and beauty are his sole desires: and these are granted only by the favour of fortune or the sport of princes. But a less hackneyed illustration may be found in the contrast between the shield of Achilles, and the Art of Egypt. The shield was forged by the God Vulcan for the greatest of heroes, and may fairly be taken as the ideal of the Greek Sculptor in the Homeric age. It was divided into eight compartments, each containing a separate scene in bas-relief. One may be quoted *in extenso*.

On it an orchard next he placed,
Laden with luscious crop of grapes,
On either side a dark blue ditch;
Of tin; a single narrow path
And tender maids & striplings slim
Did in well-woven baskets bear
And in the midst of them a boy
Delightsome, and with tiny voice
The others to the tune beat time

all beautiful and golden,
dark were the clusters on it.
around a fence he carried
led thro the field to reach it.
with gentle heart of childhood,
the fruit as honey pleasant.
on shrilly lute was harping
replied in dainty ditty.
& hummed & skirled & bounded.*

Another may be looked upon as almost the model of one of those pictures, hung by our great modern Poet upon the walls of the Palace of Art.

One was the reapers at their sultry toil.
In front they bound the sheaves. Behind
Were realms of upland, prodigal in oil,
And hoary to the wind.

In the other compartments were represented a siege, a court of justice, the ploughing of a field, the attack of a lion on a herd, a dance in a copse. It will be at once evident that even at that early period the aim of the Greek artist was to 'hold the mirror' up to Nature and human life; to reproduce common things, trusting solely to truth, and the mode of composition for pleasing effect.

* *Iliad* XVII. 561-572. We introduce our readers to the most recent attempt to translate the untranslatable, that by Mr. Newman. The sole merit of the peculiar unrhymed metre which he has chosen is, that it admits of a more literal and complete rendering than is attainable under more difficult conditions. Its faults are obvious. It is as incapable of elevation or dignity as the Trochaic lilt of *Hiawatha*.

Now as in literature, so too in art, the aim of the East was entirely opposed to this nature painting tendency.—The eastern artist loved to create forms transcendent above man—to translate such ideas as those of unreached repose, of imperturbable calm, of eternal duration, into shapes, colossal and magnificent indeed, but of a set and rigid conventionality. Occasionally, as in Assyria, they even sought the aid of allegory.

Man's head for wisdom and all cunning plans
Of intellectual might; the lion's limbs
Speak massive strength; the wings ubiquity;
The whole, a giant both to will and do.*

Their desire was, in short, not to please, but to overawe the imagination, and to this day what has survived of their work retains its ancient power of doing so. Is it possible that the nation, which in its infancy found delight in such pictures as those engraved on the shield, was, within any *appreciable* degree of relationship, (for we hold that we are all children of Adam,) connected with the nation which designed the Sphynx?

Turn now to the third point—their social life—best shown in their treatment of women, and the differences between the two will be yet more glaring. Ulysses is supposed to be dead—would be held as deceased even by English law. Yet Penelope is no chattel belonging to her husband's family; neither is she handed over to the eldest surviving brother; nor is her influence limited to such as she might exert within a seraglio. She is regent in open day; and though it is certainly expected that a rich young widow, who holds so important a position in the world, will not abide in widowhood, yet she has free range of choice among the numerous suitors of her own degree. The position of a woman supposed to be a widow was manifestly not an unpleasant one. Or let us take the instance of a woman unmarried and perhaps eighteen years old. Nausicaa not only goes with her maidens into the country unattended, but when there, with a dignity and composure which prove that she was not overstepping the recognized limits of maiden liberty, tenders her father's hospitality to a stranger, whose only introduction is a somewhat rude, though unintentional interruption of her amusements. Even the authoresses of the *Timely Retreat* might find something to envy in this freedom. She then ventures upon banter, and demands 'salvage' of the man whom she pretends she has saved from drowning. The pleasing picture is marred by a single blot, and we have not to look far to find this too reproduced in modern Society. She fears that if she enters the city with Ulysses, censorious tongues will put it about that she is

going to be married to him. 'They will say who is this tall and handsome stranger with Nausicaa? Surely she is going to become his bride. Truly she has picked up some gallant from afar who has strayed from his ship: or some god has come down to wed her. Better it were if she found a husband from abroad, since verily she looks down upon her Phœacian suitors, though they are many and noble.—Thus shall I come to disgrace, and, indeed, I myself should be indignant with any one who would so act.'

It will scarcely be believed that this is only a literal translation of the lines,* in which Homer conveys the sentiments passing through Nausicaa's mind upon the subject. The sequel is that her father rebukes her for a breach of hospitality in not having brought her friend home in her own company. This simple story speaks volumes for the liberty permitted to the unmarried maidens of that period. Of widows we have already spoken. Nor were wives worse off. The farewell of Hector to Andromache, perfect as poetry, is from this point of view valuable also as history. Gladstone truly writes, the 'general tone of the relations of husband and wife in the Homeric poems is thoroughly natural: it is full of dignity and warmth; a sort of noble deference, reciprocally adjusted according to the position of the giver and the receiver, prevails on either side. I will venture to add, it is full also of delicacy.' And again 'It is on the confidence exchanged between them, and the loving liberty of advice and exhortation from the one to the other.' The Greeks moreover were all monogamists, nor was concubinage a recognised institution among them. At any rate it is certain that it was never allowed within the precincts of the family. 'When Laertes purchased Euryclæa, we are told that he never attempted to make her his concubine, anticipating the resentment of his wife.' (Vol. II, 498) War was doubtless in this respect woman's greatest enemy: she then became the prey of the strongest.—Briseis the widow of a prince, is thus compelled to share the bed of Achilles: nor is this matter made much better by Gladstone, who defines her position as that of 'bride elect.' But we must separate between the danger and suffering which uniformly dogs the weak in times of violence, most of all too, after the sack of a city, and what belongs to the time of Homer, in particular. It is also well worthy of remark that the deity who, after Jupiter, stands first in Homer's estimation, is a goddess, Minerva. Lastly, the respect with which Helen was treated, and the delicate avoidance of all unpleasant topics in her presence, has frequently been noticed, though it has never been traced with a more loving and tender pencil than Gladstone's. Indeed he

* *Odyssey*, VI. 275-285.

takes a view of her character, not unlike that taken by some of the enthusiasts of Waterloo Place with respect to their fallen sisters in London.* She is drawn as the prototype of our modern Traviatas. Plucked as brands from the burning, they are treated as though the fire through which they have passed has been beneficial. Their fall has developed interesting traits, which are wanting in the dull common place character of self-supporting virtue. Surely Gladstone has fallen into a somewhat similar error when he winds up a very beautiful analysis of Helen's character, as conceived by Homer, with the following sentence: 'In the whole circle of the classical literature, there is nothing that approaches so nearly to what Christian theology would term a sense of sin, as the humble demeanor and the self-denouncing, self-stabbing language of the Argive Helen.' Vol. III. p. 612. We see then that women in the earliest age of Greece, in every possible position,—whether that of maid, wife, widow, or wife eloped,—enjoyed an amount of consideration, respect and freedom, the parallel to which is only to be found among Teutonic and Christian nations. An appeal to all history, and to our own present experience, is sufficient to point the contrast between such a relation of the sexes as we have just described, and the degradation under which women have ever been depressed even among those oriental nations, furthest advanced as regards other tests of civilization.

We hope that we have both explained our meaning clearly, and made out our case. Gladstone refers the origin of the Greeks directly to the East. It has been shown from their earliest record, that, even in their infancy, their aim and practice, with regard to three most characteristic points, were wide as the poles from those then and since obtaining in the East. Further, Gladstone finds elements of revealed tradition, also derived from the East, in Greek mythology. We have given the train of argument which leads us to disagree with him. Yet we confess our great obligations to the work, and have, in fact, drawn our principal arguments against the conclusions urged in it from the armoury supplied by it. Indeed if our arrow were not fledged with feathers from the eagle's wing it would be idle to aim at the eagle.—With respect to two of our great living critics, are we not then justified in asserting that the only portion of their books for which we are not thankful, is the purpose for which they were written?

If we turn to living historians we find the same tendency to paradox. 'Froude's palimpsest' is known to all. But it has not

* The error of those moon-light Missions, have been constantly exposed in the Saturday Review.

perhaps been so generally noticed that the wittiest, severest and most vigorous article that has appeared for years, was devoted to its confutation in the 'Edinburgh,' for July 1858. Froude has been justly called by no less an authority than Kingsley, 'the greatest living master of English prose.*' He is also a master accomplished in the sophistical art of instilling impressions far stronger than are warranted by facts, even as related by himself, of conveying, by implication and choice of ambiguous language, more than he directly states. Few readers therefore will not be glad that so strong an antidote has been provided for them.

But neither history nor review guide us to any conclusive settlement of the point at issue between them, the character of Henry VIII. The review is simply negative, and Froude in this respect stands upon vantage ground. He has a right to urge against those who refuse to accept his estimate of that monarch, the inconsistency of their own conceptions. He may plead that though it may be difficult to reconcile his view with certain facts, yet that at any rate it is not self-contradictory. A theory is not only more philosophic, but more likely to be true, which only presupposes that a few facts have been misinterpreted or misstated, than one, by which two or more ideas of the same person, mutually destructive of each other, are held at one and the same time. And that the latter is a true description of the view commonly held concerning this king and his age cannot well be denied. In it are included, first, the bluff king Hal—the John Bull of that period—a conception perhaps derived from Holbein as much as from history: then the student of belles lettres and friend of Wolsey, the chivalrous rival of Francis I, the knight unequalled in the lists, the hero of the field of Cloth of Gold. Then there is the hard-working man of business. With these must be fused not only the Blue-beard of our infancy, but also the bloodthirsty tyrant, the murderer of Cromwell, of the Countess of Salisbury and of Surrey. Again, room must be found, on the one hand, for the high spirit and patriotic energy, which (in Hallam's words) broke the chain of superstition, and burst asunder the prison gates, and to which the Reformation and Protestant liberty of thought are due; and on the other hand, for a capricious and cruel intolerance with which the royal writer of an eloquent pamphlet in defence of the Papal supremacy, sent More and Fisher to the scaffold for refusing to sign a test, in which that supremacy was deduced directly from the devil. A less personal, but hardly less difficult, contrast is to be found in oppressive statutes, repudiation of loans,

* In the article on Sir Walter Raleigh. *Miscellanies*, Vol. I.

and bloody vagrancy acts, on the one side, and in a content on the other side, so general, that no wide advantage was taken of the opportunities offered for a national insurrection by a great religious crisis, amongst a people who, if the common view be correct, were labouring under an intolerable tyranny—a tyranny, too, supported in entire absence of its necessary prop and engine, a large standing army. It is clear that the monarch and men, of whom we hold vaguely such irreconcilable ideas, are not really understood by us at all. Froude's solution is sweeping enough, consisting in an entire reversal of the popular conception of Henry. Looking on his whole career, posterity has been led to think that the good that resulted from his reign was wholly independent of his will—the evil was all his own. A man of hot passions, and sudden, violent resentments, he allowed neither Pope, nor wife, nor friend, nor servant to stand in the way of their gratification. It has been stated above that this view appears to us to be tantamount only to a confession of ignorance. Yet we would sooner so confess our ignorance, than adopt the theory which Froude would substitute for it. A more complete metamorphosis cannot well be imagined. Henry is transformed into a cool, wise, farseeing pilot of the reformation, through the storms and sunken rocks which encountered it at its outset. Nothing but the force of his character, ruthlessly cutting away, root and branch, all that might in any way impede, or precipitate its progress, could have tided England over the crisis. A man of natural feeling would have been unequal to the task. The immolation, upon the altar of public duty, of five wives, of two prime ministers, of much of the best blood of his realm, of Protestant friends who are dangerous only because they outrun the national movement, of catholic friends who are dangerous only because they lag behind it, would have been too heavy a demand upon any man not specially gifted. Accordingly the story of his life proves that Henry was providentially blessed with a physical temperament cold to an almost unexampled degree. Desire, love, and friendship were mere names to him, compared with this sense of royal responsibility. 'Driven,' indeed, 'by a tragical necessity'* (of providing an heir to the crown) 'he looked on matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment.†' 'He regarded a queen as part of the state furniture existing only to be the mother of his children.‡' His heart (in the vulgar phrase) was in the wrong place.* But in this frigidity of feeling lay his strength. For he was thus enabled to bring England

* Vol. III. p. 261.

† Vol. II. p. 508.

‡ Vol. IV. p. 132.

to the haven where she would be: to carry the commonwealth safely through to the goal on which his eyes and the eyes of the nation, were set, as little deterred by the numerous victims with whom his path was, 'inevitably' strewn, as the car of Jugger-nauth itself. The summary given by Froude of the character of his minister Cromwell is far more applicable to his conception of Cromwell's master. For it need hardly be observed that, if so trenchant a policy, as is therein described, could be carried on during eight most eventful years, without the King's dictation, the theory, which would look upon the king as the ruling spirit of the age, falls to pieces of itself.

'He had taken upon himself a task beyond the ordinary strength of man, and he supported his weakness by a determination which imitated the unbending fixity of a law of nature. He pursued an object, the excellence of which, as his mind saw it, transcended all other considerations, the freedom of England and the destruction of idolatry: and those who from any motive, noble or base, pious or impious, crossed his path, he crushed, and passed on over their bodies.' Vol III. p. 225.

A parallel passage to be more directly referred to Henry, is to be found in the reflection on Fisher's Execution. Vol II. p. 373.

'Poor human nature presses blindly forward with the burden which is laid upon it, tossing aside the obstacles in its path with a recklessness, which in calmer hours it would fear to think of.' And again Vol IV. pp. 116-17. 122.

'Justice was the ruling principle of Henry's conduct; but it was justice without mercy.' 'The traitor, though his crime was consecrated by the most devoted sense of duty, was dismissed, without a pang of compunction, to carry his appeal before another tribunal.' 'The nation, grown familiar with executions, ceased to be disturbed at spectacles, which formed, after all, but a small portion of their daily excitements and interests.'

It is not intended to offer more than a few remarks, suggested by the perusal of a history pervaded with this paradox. First, we are asked to exchange our old image of the hasty capricious and impetuous Tudor tyrant for an incarnation of a passionless inexorable Destiny. Such a hero may suit the taste of Carlyle and his last, though not least extravagant, disciple. But we venture to affirm, that ordinary readers will not bow down before an idol which presents so few real features of warm flesh and blood.—The representation we have given of the new portrait is in no way overcoloured. Apart from our few quotations, a yet more confident appeal might be made to the general impression left upon the mind by dwelling upon it. All that may tell in favour of his personal

character, is carefully brought before us. Yet signs of compunction or grief for the necessary victims are few indeed. It was 'a special act of clemency' when More was doomed to the block instead of the gibbet. More's acceptance of this 'tender mercy' is characteristic. 'God bless all my posterity from such pardons.*' No response was made to Cromwell, when he sent 'a more passionate appeal than is often read in those days of haughty endurance.†' The most affecting letter ever penned by woman is that from Anne Boleyn to the king.‡ She was the only woman he ever loved.§ Yet he remarried the day after her execution. 'Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was past 80,' the Countess of Salisbury not less advanced in years, when they were led to the scaffold. Our readers have the option of referring numerous acts such as these to a man so thoroughly engrossed in a noble purpose, that he sacrifices to its accomplishment, or to an austere sense of justice, his own feelings, which, by a fortunate providence, are naturally thin and chill; or to a man in whom old affection and natural sentiment are obliterated by immediate resentment. Looking at the question *a priori* and setting the evidence aside for a moment, most people will hold that, of the two, the latter is the interpretation more consistent with human nature.

But there is a radical error in the mode in which the events of the reign are handled by Froude. He does not observe the golden rule, which holds no less in reading the deeds of men of action than the opinions of men of letters. He does not interpret his hero by himself. He fails to illustrate the course taken by him on one occasion by his conduct in any similar conjuncture. There could not well be a graver omission in treating of a reign, in which divorces, executions, and changes of ministry repeat themselves within such narrow intervals. It is true that a chain is no stronger than its weakest part. One link being broken, the remainder is valueless. But accumulative evidence is not fairly described as a chain. It should rather be compared to a number of separate lines converging on a common centre. They must be looked at together, or the force of their tendency is missed. But Froude on the contrary behaves much like a skilful barrister

* Vol. II. p. 378.

† Vol. III. p. 521.

‡ Vol. II. p. 480. and Hume Vol. II. Note 9.—In the first edition Froude characterizes this letter as 'unbecoming'—In the second he appends a note, in which he states that the more he examines it, the more he doubts its authenticity. But he allows that he has no good reason for this doubt. Probably, the longer he looked at it, the more awkward he found it in connection with his theory.

§ According to Froude. Vol. IV. p. 182.

when there is a mass of circumstantial evidence lying against his client. He shows how each fact, taken singly, may carry a different construction from that put upon it by the opposite side. But he does his best to avoid and ignore the concurrent bearing of all the circumstances, taken together. It may be remarked that in this point of view there is some policy shown in the choice of the moment at which the history commences, and in its publication in separate volumes. It would have been difficult to defend the tactics, principles and benevolences of Wolsey's administration, or to reconcile them with the idea of a paternal government. And the case of Anne Boleyn was laid down before the reader, entirely isolated from its parallels. Once indeed, when the cloud is gathering over the fifth marriage, the historian 'involuntarily' pauses.* But it is only for the enunciation of a sentiment. He calls attention to the 'symmetry'† which had marked Henry's domestic troubles. Catharine of Arragon, a foreign Catholic, and divorced, is balanced by Anne of Cleves, a foreign Protestant, also divorced. Anne Boleyn, an English Protestant and beheaded, is balanced by Catharine Howard, an English Catholic, also beheaded. The degrees of misery are, as it were, shaded off, on either side, from the central Jane Seymour, who died a Queen on her bed, through the neutral tints of divorce, to the deep shadows of violent death. We do not admire the figure; and plead guilty to having drawn out the metaphor in order to show our dislike to it. But we think that it might, at any rate, have led its author to observe that there was a corresponding 'symmetry' of revolutions and executions. The divorce of the Catholic Queen led to the fall of Wolsey, the Catholic minister, and the deaths of More, Fisher, and many others. The divorce of the Protestant Queen, led to the fall and execution of a yet greater than Wolsey, the Protestant minister, Cromwell, to the rise of Gardiner, and to the deaths of the protestant preachers, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome. The relatives of Anne Boleyn seem to have saved themselves by a participation in her trial and sentence. But, in order to be sure of catching the right man, Henry executed no fewer than four. And Hume not unnaturally attributes the attainder of Norfolk, and the execution of the accomplished Surrey to the frailty of Catharine Howard. It may be that the periods at which it was requisite to 'spur on flagging reformers,' by a persecution of the Catholics, coincided with the periods at which Henry had a personal quarrel with the latter party. It may be that the periods at which it was requisite to hold back ardent 'reformers,' by the strong bits of stake and scaffold, coincided with

* Vol. IV. p. 130.

† Vol. IV. p. 141.

the periods at which Henry had discarded his Protestant wives. But there are few, who, dwelling on the 'symmetry' of his career, will not think that the relation between Henry's private life on the one hand, and these religious and political persecutions on the other, more nearly resembled that of occasion and its use, if not of cause and effect, than that of mere coincidence. Froude indeed allows the existence of a single link between his public acts and domestic sorrows, and one only. It was the ardent desire of the nation that an heir to the throne should be born. To this Henry sacrificed his love for Catharine and his devotion to Rome. And it is hinted, though hardly expressed, that his disappointment at the miscarriage of Anne Boleyn in the case of a male child, caused the low beginnings of an estrangement in the breast of the patriotic monarch. Nor even after Edward's birth, was 'one fragile life sufficient for the satisfaction of the people. 'The universal demand for a Duke of York was the sole motive 'that constrained him into re-entering a state, in which every 'experiment was but a new misfortune.' On one of these latter occasions indeed he lost no time about it. 'Anne of Cleves 'being pensioned off, the King married without delay or circumstance, Catharine, the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard.' Indeed the whole history is marred by one great deficiency. Froude possesses imagination, sentiment, love of research, and eloquence in the highest degree. But he lacks, what great English authors rarely lack, humour. Whenever the reader smiles, it is at the author, never with him. An illustration will convey our meaning better than pages of metaphysics. He desires to prove that the divorce of Anne of Cleves, was looked upon as a right and proper act in Europe. In support of this view, he quotes the following accounts of the reception of the tidings by Francis I, and the Emperor Charles V. 'Sir Edward 'Karne made the communication to Francis, prefacing his story 'with the usual prelude of the succession, and the anxiety of the 'country that the king should have more children. Even at that 'point Francis started, expecting that something serious was to 'follow. Sir Edward went on to say that the examination of the 'king's marriage was submitted to the clergy. "What" he said 'the matrimony made with the queen that now is?" then he 'fetched a great sigh and spake no more till the conclusion, when 'he answered "he could nor would take any other opinion of his 'highness, but as his loving brother or friend should do. For the 'particular matter his highness' conscience was judge therein." 'The Emperor,' wrote the resident Pate, 'when I declared my 'commission gave me good air—saying that suddenly as I touched 'the pith of the matter, thereupon he steadfastly cast his eye

'upon me a pretty while, and then interrupting me demanded 'what the causes were of the doubts concerning the marriage 'with the daughter of Cleves.' At the end, he contented himself 'with expressing his confidence that as the king was wise, he 'was sure he would do nothing which should not be to the 'discharge of his conscience and the tranquillity of his realm.' Vol. III. p. 513-14.

Surely the contrary inference is to be drawn from these minute narratives. It would appear that a trial of Henry by his peers would have resulted in a verdict not very dissimilar from that passed by posterity upon this point. Francis, exclaiming 'what the wife that now is' and Charles looking his informant steadily in the face, both alluding with scarcely covert irony to Henry's connubial conscience, are not bad representatives of the feelings roused at the present moment by Froude's elaborate defence of his hero's married life. A very slight modicum of humorous perception would also have saved him from such sentences as these.

'It was not that he was loose and careless in act or word. But 'there was a *business-like* habit of proceeding about him, which 'penetrated through all his words and actions, and may have made 'him as a husband, one of the most intolerable that ever vexed 'and fretted the soul of woman.' Vol. IV. p. 132.

'It would have been well for Henry VIII. if he could have 'lived in a world in which women could have been dispensed with; 'so ill, in all his relations with them, he succeeded. With men he 'could speak the right word, he could do the right thing; with 'women, he seemed to be under a fatal necessity of mistake.' Vol. I. p. 459.

The best argument in the world could hardly stand against so fatally ridiculous a sentiment as the last.

It is with much diffidence that we hazard a criticism on so beautiful a style. Yet, perhaps, had the author been possessed of more humour, a larger proportion of simple English idiom would be found infused into what is now a perfect model of uniform stateliness, and of earnestness sustained throughout at a noble pitch..

Concerning Froude's general estimate of England under the Tudors, we would only remark, that though it must be conceded that the picture is painted *en couleur de rose*, yet he compels our attention to a fact which his critics often seem to forget. If the Government was unenlightened, the subjects were in a no less dark state. Men living in the days after Adam Smith are hardly able to conceive the days before that greatest of revolutionists. In the Tudor times, feudal and traditionary privileges

still survived ; and the people could scarcely have been rendered miserable by the non-fulfilment of wants and hopes, which could hardly even have crossed their dreams. Many laws and customs, which now wear the aspect of intolerable limitations of common liberty, or of proofs of a partial class-legislation, may then have appeared to be only in strict consonance with the natural order of things.

But enough has been written to indicate the grounds on which rests our original assertion, that as in the great critical works of the day, so in this popular history, though there is much to interest, there is little to convince. The world delights in the book, declining only what it was written to enforce. But let us turn now from the neophyte in Hero-worship to the hierophant of the creed. "*Audi facinus majoris abollæ.*"

It has become a mere commonplace to say, that no living thinker has stamped his own genius so indelibly upon the literature of this century as Carlyle. His power of imaginative and humorous sympathy, penetrates so deeply into motives and character, that, whether in history or in biography, he always seems (if we may adopt his own pregnant phrase)* to be fashioning from the heart outwards, not from the skin inwards. And part of the truth contained in the commonplace is, that ever since the publication of his works, it has been the habit of all historians and critics (save those who were then past growing) at any rate to attempt to do the same. It is due to his influence that the brilliant antithetical mode of portraiture is no longer admired, as a sufficient rendering of men or of generations of men. Such biographies, as those which would analyze Bacon's career upon the guiding principle that he was "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind,"—such descriptions as those which would characterize the Puritan as 'made up of two different men'—such pictures as would represent the Court of Friedrich Wilhelm as 'Hell, and himself the most execrable of fiends, a cross between Moloch and Puck'—such criticisms as those which would ascribe the *merits* of a biography to the weaknesses and follies of its author—such interpretations as those which would stigmatize an epoch as 'marked by an abandonment of the attributes of humanity'—or a religion, however false, as 'mere quackery, priestcraft and duperŷ,' are now rated at their real value. They may be accepted as rhetorical figures, but they do not account for any thing at all. They are mere pointed summaries of superficial contrasts. An epigram may be, so to speak, a key to a *panorama*. It is but a slight contribution towards a true *picture*. The style

* Employed in contrasting Shakspeare with Scott. *Miscellanies* Vol. IV p. 152.

may be said to have perished with its greatest master, Macaulay. And perhaps the change which has passed over the tone of our best history, criticism and biography, could not be illustrated better than by a comparison between that author's sparkling article upon Boswell and Johnson, and Carlyle's essay upon the same men. And the change is solely owing, not to any direct attack, but to the silent example of Carlyle, combined with the growing admiration which his labours in this direction have, of late years, generally commanded. For,

As when a painter poring on a face
Divinely, through all hindrance, finds the man
Behind it, and so paints him that his face,
The shape and colour of a mind and life,
Lives for his children, ever at its best
And fullest—

Even so will noble men and deeds 'speak in the silence,' and haunt the memory of any reader who has taken the trouble to master Carlyle's conception of them.

But there is another aspect of Carlyle's influence upon the world both of writers and readers, which it is difficult to convey in any except vague language, but which is not the less real on that account. What has been termed 'the mystery of the Universe,' impresses his mind with a wonder, awe and reverence, to which it is difficult to find a parallel even among our greatest poets. In simpler, though far less comprehensive language, 'the mystery of the Universe' is the relation of man to circumstance. To many, Carlyle has succeeded in imparting some portion of his own deep feeling upon this subject. Still more strongly does he impress an unshaken belief in the reality, force, and dignity of human character and human life: a faith, in other words, on man's triumph over circumstance, a denial of his slavery to fate. Upon this subject, Buckle and Carlyle take their stand at opposite extremes. Buckle regards man as the mere creature of external influences, as clay plastic to the hands of time and nature. Carlyle holds up the spirit of man as casting the world in what mould it wills. The former represents man, as at best one of many instruments blindly contributing towards results; concordant indeed with the general laws of social order and progress, but of which he is the while himself unconscious. The latter loves to show how great men have determined the course of a nation's history. * Carlyle writes in the Volumes before us, and in all places: * 'Every original man is worthy of

* For instance in the Lectures, page I, and passim 'For, as I take it, universal history, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked there.'

'notice—nay, in the long run, who and what else is?' Himself deficient in the faculty of generalization, (and in this deficiency lies his main weakness in history,) he not only finds no interest in the development of large principles and wide tendencies, in the record of abstract society, or in the onward march of civilization, but, in passages too numerous to quote, even reviles such imagined discoveries as mere 'delusions, froth and windbags.' Whereas to Buckle it is a matter of congratulation that no individual aberration, no single career, however energetic, is ultimately of more real effect in disturbing the fixed laws of human progress, than a shooting star is of effect in disturbing the ordained revolution of the planet. It would be out of place here to draw out the contrast into finer detail. Nor is it for us to attempt to reconcile, or to take up any position betwixt the two. Yet the memories of many readers of the *History of Civilization*, may have reverted with no slight gratitude, from the cold logical chain and practical Fatalism, in which Buckle would bind down our views of the Universe, to the deeper poetic instinct and the glowing thought and utterance, with which the *Lectures on Heroes and Hero-worship* were animated.

And the old power is every where present in the history of Frederick the Great. Nevertheless we cannot but regret that it was ever written. In the first place we lament so large an outlay of labour and power upon the objects to which the two volumes already published are mainly devoted. It is said that the popularity of the work in Germany is unexampled. But most English readers must be affected by the chapters which describe the various members of the line of Brandenburg, with a sense of weariness similar to that which may have come over them in a historical portrait gallery at Versailles. Occasionally they were arrested by some touch in some portrait, the evidence of a master's hand. But, altogether, in the whole range of the self inflicted misery involved in regular sight seeing, hardly any penance has been found more tedious and exhausting. In the same way, while heartily acknowledging the skill with which some of the likenesses have been struck off, we do not care enough about the house of the Hohenzöllerns to find interest in a long gallery* of its members. Some of the sketches too are marred by an extreme latitudinarianism of sentiment. One of the best† is that of the first Friedrich Wilhelm, the great Kurfürst. It is a most spirited likeness and strikes the imagination with no common strength. He is to ordinary apprehension guilty of a base desertion of his allies at a critical conjuncture.

* It occupies more than 300 pages of the first volume.

† Book III. Chap. 18.

But a man of such energy is only to be charged with 'advancing 'in circuits—spirally—face now to West now to East, but with 'his own reasonable aim sun-clear to him all the while.* Truly, in these latter dispensations, Force is gradually supplanting Charity in her office of covering sins. We may sympathise fully with the tenets of a 'muscular christianity;' but it is rather more difficult to find comfort in a gospel of muscle only.

Graver exception must be taken to the delineation of the main figure in these volumes, Friedrich Wilhelm, the father of Frederick the Great. It has been hinted above, that the doctrine of Hero worship may be looked upon as a sound outpost against the inroads of fatalism. And therefore it is most deplorable, that its strongest advocates should throw discredit upon the truth contained in it, by a suicidal choice of their heroes. When Friedrich Wilhelm follows Henry VIII, 'Ecce iterum Crispinus' is the natural cry of all, save the most esoteric disciples of the school.

It is indeed to be at once conceded that Carlyle has converted the lay figure, to which Macaulay affixed the label quoted above, into a breathing human being, of intense but inarticulate affections; but also one of rigid views and most narrow sympathies—one to whom every whim was law, and whose whims were either born of a natural caprice, enhanced by long habit of absolute power, or insidiously instilled by enemies, thinly masked as boon companions. Why should we set such a man upon a pedestal at all? It is true, and Carlyle makes the most of the fact, that he was a faithful husband in days when such royal fidelity was rare, in the days of the first Georges, Czar Peter, and Augustus 'the physically strong.' But never did a man more thoroughly

Compound for sins he was inclined to,
By damning those he had no mind to.

It is true that he was thrifty. And thrift may be, as one of our old friends Sauerteig or Smelfungus is made to maintain,† 'at the bottom of all Empires.' But is it thrift or a low and mean avarice, when royalty starves its family,‡ and when it entertains its guests at a cost of 900 £. but directs that it be given out that it has been done at a cost of 5,000 £.§ And is much gained by the whitewash, in the literal sense, thrown over this transaction. 'Alas! yes, a kind of lie or fib—white fib or even

* Vol. I. p. 349.

† Vol. I. 422.

‡ Vol. II. 309.

§ Vol. I. 459.

'gray—the pinch of thrift compelling.'* This may be a humorous appreciation of the king's motives, but in what sense is it a justification?

Again it may be true that he had the interests of his country at heart. But it must be remarked, that neither the avaricious accumulation of treasure, nor the tyranny† shown in the erection of Berlin and the Stettin fortifications nor the importation of tall soldiers, impress us with the idea of any nobility of sentiment in this direction. His intentions were, without doubt, according to his lights, good; but his lights were of the dimmest description, not such as emanate from the stuff that heroes are made of. Kidnapping tall privates may be described as 'the polishing of a stanza'—‡ the creation of a city upon a marsh, by means of money wrung from unwilling citizens, as the 'annihilation of wreck and rubbish'—§ avarice as thrift; but no obliquity of phrase can invest such courses of action, even for a moment, with the dignity of true patriotism.

Lastly we are told with variety and iteration, which are almost wearisome, that he was 'of intellect, slow but true and deep, 'with terrible earthquakes and poetic fires lying under it.' 'Amiable Orson, true to the heart, though terrible when too 'much put upon!' To all this we can only reply, that, as regards his heart, the volumes before us teem with evidence of the orsonism or brutality. But the traces of amiability are faint and rare. Yet 'he had fountains of tears withal hidden in 'the rocky heart of him, not suspected by every one.'|| And such come to the surface when he hears of the decease of George; when he meets his son at Cüstrin, for the first time after he had sentenced him to death; and, specially, on his own truly pathetic, though in some degree whimsical, deathbed. He had thoroughly alienated the affections of his children, but it would have been strange if they had not forgiven him then. Of his intellect we have already conveyed our opinion. It may be added, that for many years of his life, partly, from a constitutional tendency to hypochondria, partly, it must be suspected, from his habits of constant fuddling, he was a slave and prey to violent fancies. During this period, he was but as a pipe on which men like Seckendorf and Grumkow could play what stop they pleased; or in Carlyle's own language, he was the main figure in an 'en-

* Vol. I. 459.

† Vol. II. 356-58.

‡ Vol. I. 461.

§ Vol. II. 358.

|| Vol. II. 14.

'chanted dance, of a well-intentioned Royal Bear with poetic temperament, piped to by two black artists.* We do not deny that the spectacle is a pitiable one, or that it is presented before us with true tragic power. We complain that a man, in truth so weak, should be held up as admirable for vigour of purpose. There is no more fatal confusion than that, by which the spurious power gained in going *with* the torrent, is identified with the genuine strength displayed in stemming it.†

Above all, we are at issue with Carlyle as regards the effect, which an 'apprenticeship' under such a father, exercised upon the character of the son. He looks upon it as a model of Spartan training, producing Spartan virtues, and as the key to Frederick's future greatness. We should conclude from the evidence he lays before us, that the Crown Prince was naturally warm-hearted and open both in friendship and antipathy; but that the cruel and bigoted discipline to which he was subjected, drove him, first, into rebellion and unconcealed licentiousness, and finally, when he had been taught by his narrow escape from death the futility of resistance, into a profound hypocrisy, and a chilling disregard to the feelings of others. He became hard and callous. At the instance of his sister Wilhelmina, he was released from exile and confinement at Custrin, on the occasion of her wedding. Wilhelmina was warmly attached to him. She is the witty, though sometimes flippant chronicler of their lives, and had been a sharer in all their early torments. Yet he responds to her eager welcome with a coldness which, under all the circumstances, can only be characterized as heartless indifference.‡ He became a hypocrite. This is hardly denied: but hypocrisy in a hero is rebaptized as 'Loyalty to fact;§ or, in another place, as 'the art of wearing among his fellow-creatures a polite cloak of darkness.' 'Gradually he became master of it as few men are—a man impregnable to the intrusion of human curiosity, able to look cheerily into the eyes of men and talk in a social way, face to face, and yet continue intrinsically invisible to them.' Nor can we detect any 'scorn of mendacity'¶ in the manner in which he exercised the faculty so developed. On the contrary, in the relations of the two, after these lessons had been learnt, the

* Vol. II. 316.

† Compare Shakspeare's

'Give me that man

'Who is *not* passion's slave: and I will wear him

'In my heart's heart—yea, in my heart of hearts.'

‡ Vol. II. 360-5.

§ Vol. II. 338.

¶ Vol. II. 333.

'histrionic talents' of the son contrasted with the volcanic temperament of the father almost avail to transfer our sympathies from the victim to the tyrant. Apart from these natural fruits, the 'apprenticeship' does not appear to have yielded anything beyond an accurate knowledge of the arts of farming and drilling.

Yet 'depend upon it brother Toby, said Mr. Shandy, learned 'men do not write dialogues upon long noses for nothing.' And though some of the views advanced in the works we have been considering, may appear, when laid before us naked and in legitimate light, to be of hardly more value than some new theory upon nasal protuberance, yet it would be a proof of rash ingratitude to *our* learned men to conclude thence that the works themselves are equally valueless. We have failed indeed in conveying our opinion, if it is not plain from all that has been written, that admiration is the preponderating feeling with which we regard our authors. 'Nay, we would go further, and affirm, that no small portion of the power they exercise over us, resides in the bent and bias which we have endeavoured to point out. Men may qualify, modify, deduct and balance, till all spirit evaporates from their writings. Strong one sided statement is ever the most eloquent. To the majority of the world the speech of the barrister is more stirring than the summary of the judge. Nor do thoughtful readers run any risk from yielding for the time to such immediate impressions. Apart from natural combativeness, *Audi alteram partem* is a motto ever present to most educated men. And the position of a jurymen, dictated to from above by an incarnation of impartial justice and superior knowledge, is not only less dignified and agreeable, but also less likely to do benefit to the intellect, than that of a man seeking to decide for himself between the conflicting arguments of able advocates. Among our many disadvantages, we should not forget that in India, exiles as we are, we have one point in our favour, which may go far to countervail them. It not unfrequently happens that materials out of which we may form opinion, are laid before us *at once and together*, which were laid before the reading public at home *successively*. The tide of fashion is strong and proverbially fickle. Reactions are often as unjust as the original opinions from which they are the rebound. Yet few take the trouble to look back merely for the sake of modifying their opinion. And, therefore, it may well be true, that when two spirited representations taken from opposite points of view follow the one after the other, they only avail to *sway the public mind to and fro*; when *simultaneously* exhibited, they assist directly towards a calm estimate.

ART. IV.—1. *Christianity contrasted with Hindu Philosophy. An Essay, in Five Books, Sanskrit and English: with practical suggestions tendered to the Missionary amongst the Hindus.* By James R. Ballantyne, L.L.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Principal of the Government College at Benares. London: James Madden, 1859.

2. *The Religious Aspects of Hindu Philosophy, stated and discussed. A Prize Essay.* By Rev. Joseph Mullens, Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Author of 'Missions in South India,' and 'Results of Missionary labours in India.' London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1860.

THESE are two important volumes, upon a very important, but a very dry, subject. The benevolent Gentleman who suggested the idea worked out in these Essays, was a public benefactor to the people of India, and, what is of far greater importance, he was a lover of the Truth, in its highest, sublimest, and most divine form.

It is a disputed point, whether the discovery of a great principle—a fundamental Truth, or that of a new *method* for discovering the Truth, is the most important in itself and in its results. Newton did the first; Bacon the last. Both the Principia and the Novum Organum are immortal, and are already acknowledged to be the property, not of a few nations, but of the race of man. But the investigations which they contain extend no further than the relation of man to the different objects of the external world, of which he forms a part. The laws and limits of the relation between spirit and matter, appear insignificant and unimportant, when contrasted with the relations of spirit with spirit, and especially of finite spirits with the Infinite Spirit. The greatest Teacher who ever dressed human thoughts in human words, has asserted that knowledge of the Truth is the means of man's emancipation:—'Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free.' This is not a knowledge acquired by the cumulative processes of the Organon; by the demonstrations of the Principia; by the dialectics and guesses of the disciple of Pure Reason; or by the rules of verbal processes laid down by Mill and Whateley. It is a knowledge which is felt as well as comprehended; which has as much to do with conscience as with reason; which embraces within its influence both the Intellect and the Emotions; and which bears as much upon the springs of actions, as upon the regulation of cognitions and of judgments.

The Essays mentioned above, treat of Ontology and Gnosiology, or the sciences of being and of knowing. Sciences which are, at once, boundless and limitless. They embrace—if the word embrace can be employed in such a connection—every object, law, and relation, whether comprehensible or incomprehensible. They treat alike of conditioned and unconditioned existences, and of all their relations. They refer to the questions, What does exist? How it came to existence? Under what conditions, relations, or laws; and for what object, it does exist?

This limitless Ontology is handled in these two volumes. The task which the writers have undertaken is to follow the Hindu sages through all their cumulative collections of thoughts and speculations, to trace out and analyze the wisdom and the folly, which the most restless and active souls, inhabiting the vast plains between the Himalaya and the sea, were able to display in explanation and defence of Hindu principles, during twenty or thirty centuries. The writers profess to analyze all those thoughts; to present them faithfully in an English dress; to contrast them with the Ontological system of the Bible; to point out and refute their errors; to shew cause why the Hindus should abandon them, and embrace the more useful, rational, and truthful tenets of the Bible; and to do all this, in the style and manner best adapted to Hindu comprehension and mode of thinking.

This is a task for giants. To write a book on the *Cosmos* is but child's play, to this. The laws and objects of nature will yield up their mysteries and secrets with much greater facility than Hindu speculations. The former have regular laws though often secret and intricate, the latter have none. The gauge of the Inductive Science is utterly inapplicable to the chaos of the 'three systems of philosophy' handled in these Essays.

One of the systems has no God; another has no world; a third has a God and an atomic world co-existing, and running on eternally parallel to one another. One of them has an imaginary world of Illusions, created by Ignorance; another a substantial world, constructed from nine eternal atoms, by the chief of souls; a third has a real world starting up from an eternal unintelligent principle—or 'rather 'state of equipoise of three 'qualities,'—for the sake of liberating a certain indefinite, eternal, innumerable 'purusha' from bonds created either by himself or by accident. One of them makes man to consist of a point of meeting between an eternal 'purusha' and a concrete form of nine eternal atoms; another makes out that he was constructed by an unintelligent principle in successive portions—first intellect, then self-consciousness, then five subtle elements, followed by

five gross ones, and so forth; the third persuades man to believe, that if he thinks himself to be a man, he is ignorant; and if he is not ignorant, he knows that he is not a man, but Brahma.

The progressive developments of the human mind, as recorded in history, have not taken place in a continuous and unbroken chain, but in cycles. The stars presented by history, like those seen in the firmament, stand out in groups. Between Pythagoras and Zeno, there was a luminous group; a less bright one between Cicero and Proclus; a misty galaxy between Anselm and Occam; and a modern constellation, of great, but dubious, brilliancy, between Locke and Hegel. Upon opening these Essays, we felt a curiosity to examine the historical positions, and the epochs and order of the Hindu cycles of thinkers and of thought. We were disappointed. What was the historical position of Kapila and Pátanjali; of Gantama and Kanada of Bádaráyan and Jaimini? No materials have been furnished to enable one to form even a guess.

This omission prompts us to a confession, which will certainly seem ungenerous to critics who are prepared 'to profess doggedly the Hindu belief in their (i. e. the Vedas') existence from 'all eternity,' until some certain chronological data can be found of their age. This is our confession. Let the critics disprove it, and we are ready to change sides. We doubt the antiquity and Hindu origin of many of the thoughts examined in these Essays. We think it a proveable point, that village Pandits compose fragments called *Tantras*, up to this day, for which they borrow thoughts from all sources within their reach, dress them up in Puranic Sanscrit, mix them with their own mythology, and transfer their nameless, dateless manuscripts to a class of copyists more ignorant and superstitious than themselves, and pass them among their ignorant disciples as Puranas. Even the more enlightened Brahma-Samaj men borrow thoughts—occasionally Biblical thoughts—and dress them up in the Vernaculars, without acknowledgement. Whole series of notions and thoughts which are un-Hindu, might be selected from the writings of Sankara Acharya, Bhaskara, Annam Bhatta, Vishwa Náth Bhatta, Sankara Misra, Sadánanda, Ram Krishna Tirtha, and almost all the Sanscrit Commentators. Many of these thoughts, we hold, must have been borrowed from visitors, travellers, and residents from other nations, without acknowledgement, and made to pass in Sanscrit as Hindu productions. Vlaq's Astronomical Tables, in a Chinese dress, became a *bond fide* Chinese production, though each figure, right or wrong, continued the same. The origin of the Tirvalore Tables is not clear. We shall be very ready to lay aside this doubt regarding a Hindu habit of borrowing thoughts, if the contrary can be proved.

Philosophy is frequently converted into a war of words for want of clear definitions. There is a difficulty about the terminology of the Hindu systems. That difficulty has not been satisfactorily removed in these Essays.

Here is a list of Sanscrit terms which we think ought to have been clearly and fully defined at the outset; and the exact significations attached to them, *in situ*, in the Hindu systems, clearly and prominently brought out, and laid before English readers in a manner easily intelligible, from the English stand-point. *Atma, Purusha, Brahma, Manas, Buddhi, Ahankara, Triguna, Prakriti, Vastu, Gyána, Agyána, Dravya, Chitta, Guna*, and several others. Of Dr. Ballantyne's philological ability to do justice to this subject, no one entertains a doubt. But we fear the learned author has adopted a wrong point of view throughout his investigation—a contentious point of view—which forbids his readers putting much confidence in his guidance. The defects of missionaries; the doubtful conclusions of Sir W. Hamilton; the disputes between Realists and Nominalists; and Dr. Ballantyne's individual opinions regarding Bishop Berkeley's Idealism; all this ought to have nothing whatever to do with the terminology, philosophy, and errors of Hindu sages, when examined from a Biblical point of view. The fragments which have been put together to constitute this Essay must be recast and re-constituted, if the book is to live. We write these remarks with sincere regret, as we hold Dr. Ballantyne in high esteem and respect, as a Sanscrit scholar and philologist of the first order, and wish much we could give him a similar position as a trust-worthy defender of Divine Revelation, a sound Biblical Theologian, and a Christian philosopher. We would willingly give him a *niche* along with the truth-seeking Dr. M'Cosh and Dr. Mansel, Sir W. Hamilton and Immanuel Kant, if his productions permitted us. It should be admitted, however, that Dr. Ballantyne has done more towards fixing Sanscrit terminology, than any Sanscrit scholar with whose writings we are acquainted. His translations from the Sanscrit are the most dryly literal that we have yet seen. But, all his Sanscrit compositions evince scholarship of the highest order. Even in this Essay, the reader has not much to complain of, in respect of faithful terminology; because all the cardinal Sanscrit terms are appended, either parenthetically, or in foot notes, along with their renderings. The same cannot be said with reference to exact definitions of those terms, in their genuine Hindu acceptations. A few examples might serve to explain this point.

An English reader wishes to know the exact Hindu sense of the terms, 'Manas,' 'Prakriti,' 'Triguna,' rendered into

European terminology. He will naturally turn to consult the writings of such a scholar as Dr. Ballantyne. He is anxious to know whether these terms represent any realities and acknowledged facts in the economy of nature; or are names attached to imaginary fictions. He wishes to know the exact positions and functions which they hold in the universe—if they exist. He turns to the learned author's Essay, and finds that:—

'Manas' is 'a substance,' an 'entity,' an 'organ,' a 'faculty,' an 'instrument,' an 'atomic inlet,' an 'atom.' Its existence is known by 'the not arising of cognitions in the soul simultaneously.' This term Dr. Ballantyne usually renders by the word *mind*. 'Mind' is also occasionally the rendering of 'Chitta,' of 'Mahat' &c.

'Prakriti' is 'Nature,' 'energy,' 'primal energy,' the 'radical energy,' an 'aggregate of the three qualities,' and an 'equipoise of the three qualities.'

'Triguna' signifies 'the three qualities,' the 'three fetters.' The technical sense of 'guna' shall be considered hereafter.

These are the definitions and renderings of the three terms, as far as we can remember, in Dr. Ballantyne's Essay. Could an intelligent reader, unacquainted with Hindu philosophy, and only acquainted with the philosophy of Being as held in Europe, find out in his own constitution and in that of the Universe, the objects or functions, to which the terms refer, from these definitions? We will leave it to the reader to answer; and certainly will not insult him by telling him, that he should test the correctness of his philosophy, by its conformity to Hindu analysis.

Since Mr. Mullens professedly compiled his materials from different translations, a confused and uncertain terminology might be deemed excusable in his compilation; seeing that he only professes to follow his translated authorities. But since his Essay is offered as a guide to English readers, there are certain points which appear to us of sufficient importance to demand a few observations. Retaining the three terms already given, Mr. Mullens makes—

'Manas' to signify, 'the organ in which takes place the perception of pleasure, pain, and the like. It is in the form of an atom, and eternal,' (p. 166.) It is the 'sphere of living and present consciousness,' (pp. 35. 171) 'The mind, equivalent in modern philosophy, to the sphere of consciousness, or internal perception, is the instrument which apprehends pain, pleasure, and the internal sensations,' (pp. 85. 204.) It is 'internal consciousness,' (p. 336.) It is 'that portion of the mind, which is the sphere of all our conscious acts,' (p. 170.) 'The

'mind is only the instrument by which the soul perceives its internal work, and is aware of its own activity,' (380.) 'I have shewn you that I think the theory which separates "mind" from soul, incorrect; and that the soul exhibits a unity of constitution so complete, that if any part or faculty is taken away, it ceases to be soul any longer. What is soul, for example without perception, without reason, without memory, without consciousness?' (p. 387.)

'Prakriti' is 'that which precedes a thing made;' (p. 200.) it is 'substance,' (p. 187.) 'a compound of three other substances in equipoise;' (p. 398.) a 'primal agency'—an 'extremely refined essence,—an indefinable something;' (p. 54.) it is 'the plastic origin of all things;' (p. 52.) 'the universal material cause;' (p. 52.) 'not ordinary matter, eternal matter,' (p. 52.) It is 'matter,' and 'Mul-Prakriti' is 'root-matter,' (pp. 49, 200.) and yet 'Hindu philosophy possesses no term exactly equivalent to the English word "matter," and comprising the class of objects which that word expresses,' (p. 88.)

The 'Triguna' are 'three qualities.' (p. 142.) 'These qualities belong to the very essence of nature. 'Prakriti' the root-matter of the Universe, denotes the substance from which they came forth. (p. 143) 'They are goodness, passion, and darkness, the affections of intellect.' 'Nature is the state of equipoise of goodness, passion, and darkness.' 'These are not qualities, (in the ordinary sense) but are the actual material engaged in the service of soul.' 'There is a triad of these qualities, and neither less nor more.' (p. 397) They are 'three material or natural substances.' (p. 398).

Mr. Mullens cannot be held responsible for the confusion, apparent or real, in these explanations. Much of that confusion is owing to the Hindu sages who wrote the books; and some to the translators. But there are a few points which should be noticed in Mr. Mullens' explanations.

Is 'Prakriti,' and are the 'Triguna' as stated and explained in the Hindu systems, objects or functions in the economy of creation? Or are they pure fictions, devised by the sages, as expedients either to cloak ignorance, or to serve a purpose in controversy? Mr. Mullens very properly, we think, refuses his sanction to the notion called 'Manas,' or mind, though we wish he had gone further, and exposed thoroughly the false process and wrong analysis connected with the fiction. We certainly cannot say that we understand his meaning when he asserts that 'Manas' is equivalent to the 'sphere of consciousness in modern philosophy;' and that it is the 'instrument which apprehends pleasure &c.' Has the 'Manas' of Hindu philosophy, any

'equivalent' in modern philosophy, or in creation as it is? Why Mr. Mullens should assert that it has, and again (p. 387) deny the existence of 'Manas,' and treat it as an imaginary fabrication, we cannot well make out. Nor do we fully understand what is meant by saying that a 'sphere,' or even an 'instrument,' *apprehends* anything.

If 'Manas,' 'Prakriti,' and the 'Triguna,' are accepted as real objects or functions in an analysis of the economy of Nature; why reject the 'Sukma Sarir,' the 'thumb-like soul,'* the 'ethereal cavity of the heart,'† the '727,200,000 arteries,'‡ and the whole anatomic theory? Is the theory of the Hindu systems regarding spirit (Atma); God (Brahma); Intellect (Bud-dhi); self-consciousness (Ahangkára), and the like, consonant with the true notions of those objects and functions?

If Hindu notions of God, man, and the world, together with their attributes, laws and relations, be fundamentally correct, and only erroneous in minor details; then why write these formidable Essays? If Hindu sages are radically defective in their analysis of the world as it is, and of man as he is—if they are erroneous in their definitions of spirit and of matter; of God and of man; of nature in its source, its attributes, and its laws, why accept their 'Brahma' as our God; their 'Atma' as our soul or spirit; their 'Prakriti' as our Nature, and their 'Manas' as our mind? The Biblical—the rational—analysis and definitions of these objects, on European principles of investigation, differ essentially from the definition found in Hindu writings. Their 'Brahma,' has but few attributes or marks in common with Jehovah, the God of the Bible; or even with the Intelligent First Cause of cultivated natural reason. The existence of a First Cause, demonstrated from creation as it stands in its relation to the mind and reason of man, may be either regarded simply as the substratum of being—as an unintelligent, insensate *Thing*; or, as a source of order as well as of being—as the *summa intelligentia*. Now the 'Brahma' of the Hindus is neither, and yet he is said to be both. He is not the *Ens entium*, for as 'Brahma' not as 'Prakriti' he is declared to be inactive and does nothing. Nor is he the source of order, for though he is declared to be knowledge (juána), yet it is declared that his knowledge is incommunicable and unmanifested by any action of his own. Activity is utterly denied to him. He is simply

* See Katha Upanishad ii. § 4. 12. Swet; Up. iii 13 &c.

† Katha Up. ii. 12. 20. IV. 6. V. 3. &c.

‡ Prasna Up. iii. 6. &c.

a 'Juána Vastu,' an immoveable, inactive, quality-less, *knowledge-thing*—if such a compound may be excusable. He is, as described by the Hindus, a kind of being, who has nothing whatever to do with his own, or with any other, existence—a little more unintelligible than the *Das Seyn* of the Germans; because *Das Wesen, Das Werden, Das Absolute* and the like, are denied to 'Brahma'.

Again the *man* of the Hindu Shashtra, is a very different being from the *man* actually found in creation. The Hindu analysis of man, as made up of the distinct substances called *soul, mind, intellect, &c.*, and of two bodies, innumerable arteries, &c., agrees not with what any man is conscious of, or cognizes regarding himself.

What European philosopher can recognize his idea of Nature, in the Hindu descriptions of 'Prakriti?' Kant defines *Nature* to be 'the totality of phenomena connected, in respect of their existence, 'according to necessary rules, that is laws' (Critique B. ii. c. 2 § 3) But the 'Prakriti' of Hindu philosophy is a 'substance' a 'primal and radical energy,' an 'aggregate, and an equipoise of three 'qualities.' We have noticed that Dr. Ballantyne, by a refinement of his own, not of Hindu writers, as far as we are aware, has attempted to shew that the Hindu term 'guna' is the same as the sum-total of the phenomena of the world of sense. We shall have occasion to return to this refinement again, when we come to consider Vedantic tenets.

The general inference which we wish to draw from the foregoing observations, are these two:—

First; Hindu principles and method of investigation, as contained in the three systems under consideration, we hold to be radically unphilosophical, illogical, and untrustworthy. Their premises are dogmatic; their processes faulty; and their inferences very frequently inconclusive and erroneous. The Hindu volumes analyzed in these Essays, offer no rational and intelligible analysis either of God, of man, of the world or of the different relations between these objects. This broad assertion is made with reference to each of the three systems, taken as a whole; but not to every branch of enquiry in each.

Secondly, judging from these two Essays, the mental point of view adopted by their writers, appears to be very different. One seems to have fixed himself, as to the religious aspect of his view, upon the Bible as the *Infallible Revelation*, requiring no proof, and looking down, from this elevated position, upon the philosophical investigations of Christendom, as its buttresses and outworks, and upon Hindu philosophy as the citadel of the enemy. As to the metaphysical aspect of his view, it seems

to be destitute of any fixed theory or system. It is indefinite. The other appears to have placed himself in the centre of a circle of Hindu sages—of whom a select few were invited to sit by him as friends and equals. He almost apologizes to this circle for the obligation laid upon him, to introduce to their considerations, the tenets of a new religion, which differed in some material points from the principles of their profound and matured philosophy; and which were made manifest in Scriptures, which laid claims to a stronger evidence in favour of their Divine origin, than even the Four Vedas, and which are so exclusive in their claims, that they utterly exclude and reject the possibility of any other Divine Institute.

Both of these mental stand-points have their advantages, and their disadvantages. At present we can only examine very briefly the treatment of Vedantic tenets by the writers, from their respective points of view; reserving the consideration of the treatment of the other two systems for the present.

Following this order, we propose to furnish a summary view of Vedantic tenets as given in these essays; of the errors of those tenets as drawn out and refuted by the writers; and then offer a few remarks of our own, explanatory of our views with reference to the character and completeness of those refutations. For the sake of greater brevity and clearness, we shall adopt the plan of placing the two summaries, as well as the errors and their refutations, in parallel columns.

SUMMARIES OF VEDANTIC TENETS.

Dr. Ballantyne.

‘Nothing really exists besides One. And this One real being is absolutely simple. This One simple being is knowledge,’ (p. 31.)

‘According to the Vedantā there is no object; and hence it follows that the term subject is not strictly applicable, any more than is the term substance, to the One reality.’ (p. 31.)

‘Soul, the One reality, is accordingly spoken of in the Vedantā, not as a substance, (dravya) * * * but as the *Thing*, or, literally, “that which abides.”’ (Vastu) (*Ibid*)

The mental process leading to the great tenet of the Vedantā, is this;

1. Nothing comes from nothing;
2. Creation and limited intelligence exist;

Mr. Mullens.

‘In spite of appearances, there is in the Universe but One real existence (Vastu); the being who is existence, knowledge, and joy, the supreme Brahma,’ p. 113.

‘Brahma is the substance of the Universe * * * * nothing exists but he,’ (him ?) p. 128.

‘He (i. e. the student) gets to understand that all duality is an illusion; that * * * * all is Brahma; that he is himself Brahma; * * * * subject, object, and the relation between them disappear. * * * * Nothing is left but One.’ p. 115.

‘The Unreal has been based upon the Real, by an improper process of “imputation”; just as there is sometimes imputed to a rope, the unreal notion that it is a snake.’ p. 113.

3. Therefore—holding both—Brahma created from himself.

Hence the Universe is identical with Brahma.

But whence the notion of Creation? and of the non-recognition that the soul is identical with Brahma?

Answer. From Ignorance. Hence Ignorance became the cause of every thing besides Brahma. (p. 32.)

What is this 'Ignorance'? 'It is a something neither real nor unreal, in the shape of entity,—the opponent of knowledge—consisting of the three fetters.' (p. 34.)

'Ignorance is equivalent to the sum-total of qualities.'

What is the origin of the notion of the three qualities?

Answer 'the phenomena of pure cognition; of lively emotion; and of inertness. To one or other of these three heads, every phenomenon may, with a little ingenuity, be referred.' (p. 35.)

'Ignorance' has two powers,

1. That by which it *envelopes* soul; giving rise to the conceit of personality or conscious individuality.

2. That by which it *projects* the phantasmagoria of the world, which the individual regards as external to himself.' (p. 35.)

'This (i. e. the improper imputation) is caused by ignorance.'

'By ignorance has the universe been produced.' p. 114.

'Ignorance is a kind of thing, different both from existence and non-existence, in the shape of an entity, consisting of the three "qualities," the opponent of knowledge.' p. 113,

'In modern language, it (i. e. ignorance) is understood to mean the phenomenal, as distinguished from the substance which underlies it; as we have seen all "nature" is recognized as the aggregate of the three qualities.' p. 114.

'This ignorance in separate souls has two powers, a covering power, and a producing power. By obstructing the mind of the observer, the covering power hides the infinite soul, and makes it appear limited. The producing power gives rise to notions of happiness, misery, possession, and dominion; * * * and produces in the soul expanses of the universe, and projects them as a phantasm before the mind's eye.' p. 114.

This may suffice. Those who wish to pursue the subject further should have recourse to the Essays, and to the original works from which they quote and draw their materials. The notion, that 'Ignorance' is equivalent to the phenomenal world, we believe to have been originated by Europeans, not by Hindus. We have found it no where except in Dr. Ballantyne's writings. Whence Mr. Mullens has borrowed it, we are not aware.

The passage referred to above by Dr. Ballantyne from the Vedanta Sâr, defining 'Ignorance' to be a 'something neither real nor unreal, in the shape of *bhâva*,' does not prove satisfactorily to our mind that 'Ignorance' signifies 'the sum-total of qualities.' On the contrary, it seems to us that the description of 'Ignorance' in the passage referred to, and throughout that little Treatise, shews that it is spoken of as an attribute in the relation between soul and the world. The author treats of the views which the soul takes of its own existence, and of that of the external world; and not of the reality or unreality of the existence

of either regarded in itself. What is there predicated of 'Ignorance,' we predicate of 'Idea.' If we take the word *bhāva* to signify 'entity,' as Dr. Ballantyne does, adopting its sense in Kapila's and Gantama's systems, still 'Ignorance' is said to be *bhāvarupa*, not *swarupa*, or in the shape of entity not identical with it. We regard *ideas* as the shape or image of the objects of sense; not the objects themselves. The word *bhāva*, in its most common and popular acceptation, signifies the ideas arising in the mind regarding objects of sense, not the objects themselves. Why reject that sense here?

But if we take Dr. Ballantyne's explanation of 'Ignorance' in this Essay, it cannot mean the 'sum-total of qualities,' because the two powers which manifest it, 'envelope the soul,' and 'project the world.' If by *soul* is meant here, the Limitless One, to 'envelope' such a One, can convey no possible meaning; but if the word 'soul' refers to the individual soul, then 'Ignorance' cannot be the 'sum-total of the qualities' of the soul which it 'envelopes.' Again the term 'world' implies the 'sum-total of qualities,' whether it has a real substratum or not; and therefore to say that 'Ignorance' is the 'sum-total of qualities,' and that it 'projects a world,' which also involves the 'sum-total of qualities,' amounts to the same thing as to say that 'Ignorance projects' itself. The existence of the 'soul' and of the 'world,' is necessary to the manifestation of the 'two powers of Ignorance' in the theory. If the former vanish, the latter must vanish with it. If it be said that 'Ignorance' is, by a figure of speech, personified here, still that cannot remove the difficulty; for 'Ignorance' must be a personification of something, otherwise it is but an imaginary fabrication. It cannot be a personification of the individual *soul*; for it 'envelopes' it; nor yet of the external world, for it 'projects' it. Hence we conclude that it is intended to refer to the *relation* between these two. The question under investigation by Sadānanda in the Treatise is, whether the world and the soul are real existences or not. This fiction of 'Ignorance' with two powers, which depend for their manifestation upon the existence of the *soul* and the *world*, manifestly can furnish no solution to the question.

We certainly cannot concur in Dr. Ballantyne's praise of the Hindus as profound metaphysicians. Breadth of thought, profundity, careful and logical analysis of objects and of principles, they certainly have not produced in their sutras and commentaries. But acute quibbling and dogmatic assertions we have in abundance. A collection of phrases more crude and illogical than Vedānta Sār, we think can rarely be found. Its author undertakes to prove

that all objects are identical with the one thing (Vastu); and shews that 'Ignorance in its totality is one; in its variety, many.' This identity is asserted without a shadow of proof; and profusely illustrated by a reference to the relation between a forest and the trees which compose it, and the atmosphere which surrounds it; between water and its varieties; between objects and their reflection in liquids; between fire and heated iron &c., &c. Because genera include their species; and because the chemistry and the laws of nature produce changes, either apparent or real; it is inferred that the world is identical with God; or that God is the substance of the world.

But we must return to the Essays. Our general inference is, that in the Vedānta Sār, 'Ignorance' both in its totality and in its variety, applies to the *relation* between the soul and the world; not to their *existence*.

ERRORS OF THE VEDANTA AND THEIR REFUTATIONS.

Dr. Ballantyne.

1st. Error. 'Granting to the Vedantins that nothing *of itself* exists besides the one; it neither follows that a man is the one; nor that a man's endless course of existence depends upon himself alone.' p. 38.

Refutation.

(1.) 'The Vedantins, as philosophers—would seem to have been duped by the word *thing*, and its kindred term, *real*. They chose to restrict the name of *thing* to spirit, and then jumped to the conclusion that all else must be *nothing*, or nothing of any consequence.' p. 42.

(2.) 'Though the Vedantin be a Pantheist; yet he is a spirit of a far higher mode, (than the materialist,) erring though he be.' p. 49.

(3.) According to the teaching of the Vedānta, there is really no will of God; for if, by the word God is meant Brahma, then that consists of knowledge only, and is what is meant by the word *Veda* itself. And the *Veda* cannot be the *revealer* of the will of God, else we should find a duality; whereas, according to the creed of the Vedantin, there is no distinction between the *Veda* and the Lord. pp. 57-58.

(4.) 'If there is any Vedantin in the world; then to argue with him would be like arguing with a child or a madman.' pp. 58-59.

Mr. Mullens.

1st. Error. 'God is identical with matter, and with the human soul.' pp. 180-282.

Refutation.

(1.) God should be glorious; the Vedānta makes him very contemptible.

(2.) 'The Vedānta confounds matter and soul.'

(3.) The defects and imperfections in creation, are those of Brahma, if creation is identical with Brahma.

(4.) If the universe is identical with Brahma, why does it not possess the excellences of Brahma?

(5.) If soul is identical with Brahma, whence the sense of duality in individual consciousness?

(6.) If the All is identical with Brahma, whence the real differences observable in contraries and opposites?

(7.) If Brahma is secondless, whence the different Gods, and castes of men? Therefore the universe is not identical with God. pp. 182-197.

Again, this doctrine of identity cannot be established by holding the tenet of a *Máyá* or Illusion in human consciousness regarding the existence of objects; because:—

(1.) The theory of *Máyá* insults God, by making him the author of an illusive sport.

(5.) If the Vedantin assert that a Trinity is impossible, he errs, because the truth of the Christian Scriptures has been established; and because, if the One Reality is manifested in the form of all human souls, then the Doctrine of the Trinity may be easily accepted. pp. 72-73.

2nd Error. The transmigration of souls.

Refutation.

There is no transmigration, because:—

(1.) The Hindu Spiritual Institutes are no Authority in proof thereof. pp. 105.

(2.) The origin of evil cannot be accounted for by the doctrine of Transmigration, for, as Paley observes, *regressus* diminishes not the difficulty, in any degree; therefore no point in the series could render the solution easier. pp. 87-90.

(3.) Diversity of conditions cannot be accounted for, by the doctrine of transmigration. As a chain does not become competent to support itself, through indefinite addition to its links, just as incompetent is transmigration to account for diversities in conditions.

(2.) If men are Brahma, they cannot be deceived.

(3.) If men are bound by *Máyá* they can never be undeceived.

(4.) The exercises of religion, and a long course of study &c., cannot prove the means of undeceiving them.

Therefore men are not deceived by *Máyá* regarding the identity of the universe with Brahma. pp. 298-304.

2nd Error, The transmigration of souls.

Refutation.

This refutation is divided into, answers to Hindu objections; and direct arguments.

Answers to objections.

(1.) The inequalities in the conditions of men are fewer than is often thought.

(2.) The inequalities that do exist, are frequently attributable to the conduct of the person himself: or to other men.

(3.) Inequalities in the conditions of men are sometimes of Divine appointment as tests of character.

(4.) These inequalities are appointed by God for the good of society.

(5.) The inequalities of physical and mental defects from birth, are often the results of hereditary diseases, and consequences of sin, and sovereign acts of the Deity against sin, and partial means of man's probation; and occasions for sympathy and benevolence.

(6.) If there be no transmigration, whence come the souls of fresh births? Answer. Why cannot God continue the exercise of His creative power, in creating new souls?

Direct arguments.

(1.) Transmigration confounds the various classes of existing beings.

(2.) Human recollection contradicts the notion of transmigration.

(3.) Transmigration is a system of great injustice; because the soul is punished or rewarded for actions, of which the recollection is utterly lost.

(4.) The object of the doctrine, viz., the improvement of soul, is defeated, by obliging it to frequent a wicked world during the *Kally Yoga*. pp. 377-395.

3rd Error. The doctrine of fate,

Man cannot be held responsible for his belief and acts, without Freedom of will—and freedom, or independence on a previous cause is impossible—since it has been proved that an uncaused cause is inconceivable. pp. 82-8.

3rd Error. The doctrine of innate dispositions, and of Fate, which makes God the author alike of good and evil.

The dispositions communicated to men and other creatures are of various kinds, corporeal and intellectual, essential and incidental, leading upwards or urging downwards, and productive of all the numberless varieties of character, lot, and history of created beings in this, and all other worlds; they are all derived from the different proportions of the three *gunas*, with which each individual is formed' p. 400.

Refutation.

(1.) Freedom of Will in God or man is conceivable.

(2.) Our consciousness of accountability shews that freedom to be, practically, a fact.

(3.) A beginningless series of causes and effects forced upon us by the doctrine of necessity, is as inconceivable as uncaused origination. Thus, in theory, the difficulties of Liberty and Necessity balance; but, practically, the consciousness of moral accountability cannot be accounted for, excepting upon the supposition of freedom of will to act. Hence the scale turns in favour of freedom. pp. 83-86.

Our analysis has grown somewhat long; but it was thought desirable to furnish a broad and fair foundation for the few observations which we proceed to make on the Essays.

The line of argument adopted by Mr. Mullens for refuting Hindu errors, will, no doubt, recommend itself at once to most Christian readers, but judging from a Hindu point of view, we fear many of his arguments will appear inconclusive, and will fail to produce conviction. The reason for this result is sufficiently manifest.

He has assumed the correctness of the Christian point of view, which he has adopted as the test of the truth and error of dogmas. The Hindu calls in question the soundness of that point of view, and rejects the test. The engineer who runs a mine in an upper stratum, to counteract that of an enemy in a lower one, and in a different direction, must fail of success. Transcendental errors can but seldom be refuted with arguments purely empirical, drawn from sensuous knowledge. The Hindu sage argues about absolute Being; the nature and origin of phenomena; and their relations.

Refutation.

(1.) Men are conscious of freedom in their actions; whence that consciousness, unless they possess freedom?

(2.) Human actions spring from human motives.

(3.) Men universally assign praise and blame, according to the motives of actions.

(4.) The attributes of wisdom, holiness, justice, benevolence assigned to God in the Hindu Shastras, are inconsistent with the notion that he is the author of sin. pp. 396-417.

Given an Agent cogitating, an object cogitated, and the result in the shape of an inference. There are several ways to test the correctness of that inference. Let the object contemplated be the absolute being: one might examine whether the object contemplated is, from the conditions and necessity of its very being, cognizable or uncognizable, absolutely considered. Another might examine the conditions of all possible relations between the thinker and the object contemplated. A third might enquire into the nature, extent, and other conditions of the powers of the agent. The Hindu adopted the first method, arrived at a point in which 'I do not know' must be the answer to all further enquiry. Then instead of descending to the other method, he converted his very 'Ignorance' into the means of solution, and undertook to explain the absolute from that point of view. By way of illustration; suppose a person were to assert that he had made a tour to Sirius and back again. A simple 'No' would not serve for a refutation, for he, and others might hold that a simple 'Yes' is its equivalent. One might assail such an assertion by enquiring into the chemical composition and force of attraction of that star; the kind of beings, and of life adapted to its atmosphere, elements, and other conditions, supposing such examination to be possible, and within the reach of man. Another might enquire into all the possible relations between an inhabitant of this insignificant planet, and that enormous and distant luminary. Another might apply the gauge of logic and experience to the conditioned powers of locomotion belonging to the asserter, as the agent in such a journey. These different points of view, are easily applicable to human enquiries connected with the unconditioned and the absolute. But unless he who asserts, and he who refutes have a clear comprehension of each other's point of view, it is manifest that no conclusion can be obtained, and no conviction produced. Mr. Mullens' refutation of the first error might serve to explain this point.

There is but one additional remark that we wish to offer regarding Mr. Mullens' treatment of the subject. The Dialogues appear to us to be ill-constructed. The 'English Judge,' has evidently made himself the commander-in-chief, fixes the positions, and orders the movements, on both sides. Guru Das, and the other prolocutors are mere puppets in his hands. They always bring on their objections, frame their sentences, and introduce their quotations, in accordance with his will. And the 'Judge' is imprudent enough to remind his prolocutors that they are at his service, by such phrases as:—'That is the point to which I wish your attention to be turned;' 'I am well aware, O Pandit;' 'you have well stated, O friend;' 'exactly, these are the

illustrations I mean :’ and the like. Guru Das and his colleagues must have been a very different set of men from Dr. Ballantyne’s Bapu-Deva Sastri, and his Benares Colleagues ‘who are ‘no children.’ Moreover, Guru Das’ sentences are almost all cast in an English mould, a feat no *bond fide* Pandit can do.

Mr. Mullens’ Essay was written for English, not for Hindu readers. Almost every sentence in it proves this fact. As a comprehensive sketch or compendium of Hindu tenets, English readers in general owe him much gratitude for so laborious a performance. But the critical student must, we fear, employ other means, if he wishes to acquire a sound and deep knowledge of the principles of Hindu philosophy.

The method adopted by Dr. Ballantyne to dispose of the errors of Vedantism, demands a more lengthened investigation. The point of view which he has adopted in his investigation appears to be this:—

The material or phenomenal world has no *real existence*—there are no ‘material substances.’ ‘The “matter,” which (you say) ‘is alleged in the Bible to have been brought from non-existence ‘to existence, neither exists, nor could possibly.’ (p. 32) ‘It ‘may be said, it suffices to establish the authority of the Veda, ‘that it is in harmony with all demonstration. In the Bible, on the ‘other hand, we are told that the world was produced out of no- ‘thing.’ (Book II. Aph. V. p. 29.) The purport of this whole aphorism appears to be, to bring forward proofs that the Vedantic tenets regarding the Absolute Oneness of *real existence*, as against the teaching of Bible, is the only rational and demonstrable view of the subject of creation. The names of Sir W. Hamilton, Sir W. Jones, and Bishop Berkeley are adduced—and even rendered into Sanscrit—in proof of the correctness of the Vedantic view of the matter. The teaching of the Bible, that *to create* means to make a thing out of nothing, is held to be the reverse of the teaching of ‘unassisted intellect,’ which teaches that the *real* is but one, that sin, misery &c. are all illusions; that man himself is God, and so forth. (p. 35) Dr. Ballantyne, though professing his faith in Bible teaching, agrees with the Vedantin as to the teaching of reason. ‘I can articulate the word *creation*, ‘and I may appear to attach a distinct idea to the term when I ‘say that it means “making out of nothing,” which I do hold ‘it to mean, but is it possible for me to conceive, that what is so ‘made has in it a principle of existence which would sustain it ‘for an instant, if the creative force were withdrawn? I am *not* ‘able to conceive this.’ (p. 34)

Admitting that the particular relation between the unconditioned and the conditioned, which we call ‘to create’ is beyond

the limits of the conditioned comprehension of man; yet we hold that it is not more comprehensible to say that 'to create, 'is to transform the substance (Vastu) of the creation into the 'shapes of phenomenal objects;' than to say that 'to create is 'to make a thing out of nothing.'

Hence we infer that Dr. Ballantyne has taken up a very serious position in a treatise professedly on Christian theism, when he asserts that the Biblical theory of creation, is contrary to reason, and the Vedantic theory the only rational view of the matter. Speculations of the kind, might be allowed to pass unchallenged, as individual opinions, in metaphysical treatises; but it is a very different matter, for a writer to undertake the task of giving a faithful view of the teaching of the Bible, in a language which is the depository of the literature of a fifth of the human species. In this Essay Dr. Ballantyne speaks for Christians, and therefore Christians have a right to examine his teaching. There are hundreds of clergymen and divines in the pulpits and seminaries of Christendom, who are, at least, as learned as Dr. Ballantyne in the doctrines and teaching of the Bible; who deem it their duty to 'hold fast the form of sound words' which it teaches; whose attachment to its truths is stronger and of a higher nature than their attachment to their natural lives. Do those consider it contrary to the teaching of 'unassisted intellect' to believe that God by His Almighty Power and Will, gave existence to the Universe out of nothing? Do they find that the conception which they have of this article of their faith is 'similar to the conception of a round square?' Are they conscious that the 'speculative reason, fearlessly followed, brings them inevitably 'to the brink of that precipice of pantheism, over which, the 'Vedāntin would have them cast themselves?' (p. 35.) Why refer to clergymen? There are thousands of enlightened and pious laymen, who are as familiar as Dr. Ballantyne with the speculations of Berkeley, Hamilton and the rest, and yet do not regard the teaching of the Book, which holds the highest place in their affections, and has become the law of their lives, as being contrary to the teaching of their 'unassisted intellect;' nor do they believe that their 'speculative reason'—for we suppose the privilege of possessing one will be conceded them—brings them inevitably to the brink of the precipice of Pantheism.

But supposing all believers in the Bible were to accept the conclusion, that it is contrary to reason to believe that the world was created out of nothing; that the fact of such a creation is 'unthinkable;' that such a conception is either too great or too small for the human soul; or that it is in itself contrary to the laws of thought, what then? Will the contrary view

remove the difficulty, and relieve the mind from its embarrassment? Is it more conceivable that a 'certain quiddity' which we call a stone was evolved out of a spiritual substance or that the stone is a certain form of that substance; than to conceive that a creative will of infinite power gave existence to a substance differing from itself? Admitting for argument's sake, that the notion, 'to create a thing out of nothing,' is unthinkable, we must hold that the alternative one of evolving what we experience and regard as matter or non-spirit, from spirit-substance, is equally unthinkable.

An atom or a universe is present to the mind, a person wishes to form a conception of its origin and nature. He may commence with the notion that the Real alone is One; that substance alone is Real, and that Spirit alone is substance. He has an atom under contemplation, and he discovers either that he must have two realities, the atom and his mind; or that one of these is but a modification of the other; or that one of these must have, by some process, originated the other; or, finally, he may regard both as dependent, and must fall back in search of an original substance. He might advance a step further, and conceive that a notion of extension is essential to the conception of the attributes and properties of the atom; that between the atom and his own thinking self, there must exist some sort of relation. But duality being an essential element of the notion of Relation, he has already two existences—the atom and thinking self; nor can he, by any process of thought, reduce the two into an identical one. The notion of duality cannot be cancelled by any process of his thinking powers. Other difficulties soon crowd upon him. What is the relation between this thinking being, and the atom or the extension which I contemplate? though the perception of the atom is conditioned by a notion of extension, without which the atom cannot become an object of thought; yet how can I demonstrate that this is not a condition of my thinking powers, rather than of the atom and extension in themselves? How can I prove that the extension, of which I have conception, is absolutely infinite in its own nature, and not merely negatively infinite only in reference to the capacity of my mind to measure it? By what process of ratiocination can I shew that this extension is a substratum in itself; of which the atom which I perceive, is either a part or a manifestation? Or, if I suppose the atom or the universe a portion or a manifestation of an infinite substance; how can I comprehend and trace out the origin, the cause, the method, and the extent of the transformation?

Our sole object in referring to these metaphysical speculations here, is to shew that the assertion that 'speculative reason'

necessarily leads to Pantheism, is founded upon a partial view of the matter. The impressions of the objects of the external world, received by the percipient mind, must involve the notion either of the Reality or of the Unreality of those objects. If the notion or conception produced by those impressions, be a notion of the unreality of the objects perceived; whence the necessity of arraying all the powers of the 'speculative reason' to persuade people to believe conceptions produced by the impressions of their daily experiences. But if the sensuous impressions give rise to a conception of Reality and Substantiality, in the objects perceived, and the inference of ratiocination, and the conclusions of the 'speculative intellect,' prove the unreality of those objects; then, since these contradict one another regarding the same fact, at the same time, one of them must be wrong.

Is there a real and substantial substratum to all the objects of the phenomenal universe?

Mankind at large answer this question in the affirmative; because the mind conceives properties and qualities, only as the attributes of some underlying substratum or support. Mankind do not profess to have any knowledge of that support, but only of the aggregate of qualities, by means of sensuous experience. The mind, by a sort of natural process, belonging to the laws of thought, infers the existence of a support. The inference cannot be proved, says Bishop Berkeley; it is contrary to 'speculative reason,' says Dr. Ballantyne. A ploughman steps in, and demands:—'Prove that the properties made known by my sense-experience, have no underlying support.' The utmost that the Bishop and the Doctor can advance in reply is:—'We cannot prove a negative; but produce you your proofs that there is such a substratum; and we will show their futility; though we cannot prove the contrary.' Our ploughman might reply; 'my sense-experience of the aggregate of qualities, in the shape of perception, involves in itself an inference of a support; and as I never knew a man who did not believe that the figure and hardness of the stone against which he stumbled, were properties of a real substance, I think that notion is universal.'

The view of the ploughman here might be held, not besides, but notwithstanding, Bishop Berkeley's opinion that colours, tastes, extension, figure &c., exist only in the mind; and his doubts regarding the prevalence of the notion of real substances, made known by sense-experience. The ploughman's view is founded upon an analysis of the contents of a mental conception arising from sense-knowledge, and is held to be a necessary inference involved in the relation between primitive and derivative cognitions. Were it granted that we can neither prove nor

disprove the reality of the external world; yet the existence of Ideas being provable; the enquiry into the cause and origin of those states or changes proceeds from the laws of thought. Does consciousness testify of the *changes* only? or also of the changes in the mental state, in their *relations* to their origin, that is, sense-experience.

Now if Dr. Ballantyne's logic, on another subject, is sound, we think that the ploughman has the best of the argument. 'The doctrines of Liberty and Necessity, (says Dr. Ballantyne) are two Incomprehensibles, and thus balance each other; but the fact that a consciousness of freedom is felt by all, turns the scale in favour of liberty.' So is the ploughman's argument; 'the existence of the substratum of qualities cannot be proved; nor can its non-existence be proved; thus the two theories balance. But the conscious notion of a support underlying the properties made known by sense-experience, turns the scale in favour of its existence.'

But however the metaphysical speculations, regarding the existence or non-existence of a substantial substratum to the phenomenal world, be decided; that is not our present object. We have to do with the Ontology of the Bible, and of the Hindus; and it appears to us that Dr. Ballantyne, by introducing this controversy into his Essay, has done a great disservice to the Hindus whom he wishes to enlighten, and a great injustice to the Bible, which he wishes to make known to them.

We have strong faith in Dr. Ballantyne's uprightness, and in the purity of his aim and intention. And for this very reason, we regret the more to be forced to observe, that to our apprehension Aphorisms V. and VI. in Book II. of the Essay, are calculated to mislead and to do injury to Hindu readers. The purport of those Aphorisms we take to be this:—Sir W. Hamilton, Sir W. Jones, and Bishop Berkeley, on the one hand, and the Bible on the other hand, contradict one another regarding the fact of creation; the former agree with the teaching of the Vedas, and of reason; the teaching of the latter is contrary to the voice of reason; as it should be, since it is a divine revelation. Whether these were the views which Dr. Ballantyne intended to inculcate, we, of course, cannot say; but we fear that every Hindu who may read the Essay, will so understand its teaching. Those three excellent men, would not, we think, much enjoy the position in which they are placed in these Aphorisms.

It is worthy of consideration also, whether Vedantic tenets, as held by the Hindus, will bear the favourable construction put upon them in this Essay. Full fourteen pages are taken up with the defence of the Vedantin. His theory of creation and of

existence is made out to be nearly as orthodox as that of good Bishop Berkeley, if not as that of Paul. This defence demands a brief analysis. (see pp. 38—52.)

DEFENSIVE POSITIONS AND ERRORS OF THE VEDANTIN.

Defensive Positions.

Position 1st. There are three kinds of existence:—the independent; the dependent or phenomenal; and the seeming or illusive. The Christian should not accept "an unknown quiddity, with an absolute existence," and deny to the Vedantin his "philosophical belief," regarding that existence. pp. 38. 40.

2nd The Vedantin has been charged with the wildest extravagance, by being made to assert that the Supreme is devoid of qualities, when he asserts that Brahma is *Nirguna*. This charge is unjust, because the term "guna" is a technical term, signifying 'phenomenal, material.' Hence *Nirguna Brahma*, means *Immaterial God*. Again, "organs of sense or motion are made up of what the Vedantin calls 'Guna,' as we Europeans in general say, they are made up of what we prefer to call matter." p. 44.

3rd To say that Brahma exists "without intellect, without intelligence, without even the consciousness of his own existence," is no extravagance of the Vedantin. For "by intellect he means an internal organ" of cognition; by "intelligence" he means the conceptions of that "organ;" and by "consciousness" the individualizing of ourself by the thought of "ego," thereby implying an existent "non-ego." The denial of Brahma's consciousness in this sense, does not imply unconsciousness in the sense in which we employ the term. pp. 47. 48.

4th The *vedic* text, "all this is Brahma," and the illustration taken from the spider spinning his web, do not prove the Vedantin a Pantheist. As no one would say that the web is the spider, so no one should infer that the world is Brahma. Again, "all this," does not mean the universe. The world is only a display of the phenomenal.

Assailable Positions.

Error 1st; The Vedanta system is Pantheism. But pantheism qualified by Sir W. Jones' "inextricable difficulty attending the *vulgar* notion of *material substances*, which induced * * * some of the most enlightened among the moderns to believe that the whole creation was rather an energy than a work." p. 32.

2nd "The Vedantins * * * would seem to have been duped by the word *thing*, and its kindred term *real*. They chose to restrict the name of *thing* to spirit; and then jumped to the conclusion that all else must be nothing, or nothing of any consequence." "It is idle to disparage the immense importance of phenomena, by dubbing them 'insubstantial.'" "

3rd "In the Vedanta, there is really no will of God; for Brahma consists of knowledge only; and is what is meant by the word *Veda*. Hence the *Veda* cannot be a revealer of Brahma, otherwise we should find a Duality, which is denied." p. 58

4th The veracity of the Vedas has not been proved; for:—(1) Their authority is said to be self-evident. (2) The speculative intellect is disposed to arrive at what they teach, without Divine aid. (3) If their great tenet, "The Real is but One," "there is no duality," be true, there is neither place for, nor need of, revelation.

5th. The epithet *Viśva-Charaṣaṇa* may mean that the familiar conception of the chief energizing deity,—*īśvara*, the lord—is no other than the aggregate of all embodied souls; as a forest is no other than the trees that compose it.” p. 171.

6th. The Vedantin holds not that *Brahma* has no attribute; but that “he is all attribute, sheer existence, sheer thought, sheer joy.” p. 49.

5th. “Granting that nothing but the One exists *per se*; it is not just to infer that man is the One.” (p. 38.) “If it be not agreed that there exists anything besides *Brahma*; then there is no foundation for the employment of arguments, either affirmative or negative. If there is any real Vedantin in the world, then to argue with him would be like arguing with a child or a madman,” p. 58.

In this last ‘error,’ Dr. Ballantyne is literally cruel upon the Vedantin. However, ‘Benares Pandits are no children,’ and they need not be frightened at a slight excess in the language of their friend. We shall leave the task of reconciling the sentiments contained in the ‘defence,’ and the ‘errors’ to the intelligent readers of the Essay; and proceed, at once to examine the defence of the Vedantin; upon the soundness of which, to a great measure, depends the value of this Essay.

From the three adjectives given in Position 1st, we do not conceive how any legitimate inference regarding the reality or unreality of objects in the external world can be drawn. Those adjectives are intended to denote qualities, all of which are alike predicated of Existence (*Sattwa*). The phrase ‘such as has to be dealt with’ is a clumsy and ambiguous rendering of the term *Vyāvahārika*; which commonly signifies, *customary, usual, judicial*. Its substantive from *Vyāvahāra* is universally used in Bengal for *habit, behaviour, custom, usage*. No conclusion regarding the reality or unreality of ‘matter’ can be obtained from the quotation given in page 38. All that is asserted there, as seems to us, is that existence is divided into spiritual existence, customary or common existence, and apparent existence. With the exception of this last, the division agrees very well with our division into *spirit*, and *matter*; and because of the last, the Hindu analysis appears to us defective. Its defect arises naturally from the antecedent dogma of the ‘*Tri-guna*,’ and their product, ‘*Ignorance*.’ If ‘existence’ is real, then what is *apparent* existence? whatever it is, in the quotation it is asserted to have as much right to be called ‘existence’ as that to which the epithet *spiritual* is applied has. Moreover, the epithet ‘seeming’ must necessarily presuppose some known *real* existence, though it be but the product of imagination or dreams. The mention made of the ‘unknown quiddity,’ if employed in contempt of the theory regarding the reality of ‘*Mat-ter*,’ is an attempt at begging the question under investigation.

But Dr. Ballantyne’s defence of the Vedantin, taken as a whole, hinges upon the signification which he attributes to the

term 'Guna,' in position 2nd. The usual sense is a *quality*, a *cord*—or 'fetter' as Dr. Ballantyne has it, although we know not why he has selected the word 'fetter', any more than 'tether' or any other word for a cord employed to fasten two objects together. That the Hindus ever employed this word in the sense we attach to the words 'phenomenal, material,' Dr. Ballantyne has either neglected or failed to prove; and we have failed, after a mature consideration, to see sufficient reason for accepting the new signification which he proposes. We take the word 'phenomenal' here in its widest sense to signify not only all visible, but also all sensuous objects; which are sensuous indeed, by means of their qualities; but that decides nothing regarding their reality or unreality.

Now the view put forth here on this point, might be briefly stated thus:—The word 'guna' has but two primary significations in Hindu writings; namely, that of a quality; and that of a string, cord, or means for fastening and joining. That it ever signifies 'material, phenomenal,' appears to us to be unproved, if not unprovable from Hindu writings and usage. And hence it does not appear to be correct to say, that the phrase *Nirguna Brahma* conveys the same meaning to a Hindu, as the phrase *Immaterial God* does to a European; or even 'very much the same sense.'

Our reasons for making these assertions are briefly the following:—In the Nyaya and its collateral systems, the word 'dravya' is used for the objects of the phenomenal world; and 'Guna' is there used to denote what we call *qualities* which have their abode in substance (dravya). There 'Guna' cannot mean the phenomenal world. (Tarka Sangraha. 2-4, Vaiseshika. Aph. 5. 6. Bhasha Parichchheda. § 2-4). Secondly, The old lexicographer Amara Sina, in his *Kosha* makes 'guna' to signify, 'a bowstring; that which abides in substance, (dravya); goodness &c. (i. e. the Triguna); whiteness &c. (i. e. all colours); and that which joins &c.' (Amara Kosha. p. 124. verse 49.) Thirdly, though there is a degree of confusion about the signification of 'Guna' in the Sankhya and Yoga Aphorisms, arising from the previous adoption of the dogma of the 'Triguna' as the substance of 'Prākṛiti'; yet the passage quoted by Dr. Ballantyne (Sankhya Aph. Book I. Aph. 62.) does not appear to us to prove that the word 'guna' universally, but only as applied to the 'Three,' denotes qualities, and this the commentator—not Kapila—asserts of the 'Three,' 'because they are subervient to soul, and form the cords which bind the brute-beast to the soul.' Kapila's confused theory of creation, pressed hard, no doubt, upon the commentator; but it does not appear to us pro-

vable, that he has given a new meaning to the word 'guna.' Fourthly, It has not been shewn, that any of the writers of the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā introduced this new signification to the term 'guna.' Fifthly, The use made of the word 'guna,' elsewhere in this Essay, does not appear to be altogether consistent with this technical signification. We are told, for example that:—

'Ignorance' (ajñāna) is the aggregate of the phenomenal. (p. 49)

'Guna' is the sensible—the sum of the objects of sense. (p. 45)

'Therefore Ignorance' is 'Guna' and what is predicated of the one may be also predicated of the other. But Dr. Ballantyne says (p. 34) that 'Ignorance' is 'equivalent to, and identical with the sum-total of qualities.' But 'guna' are never less than three; and those three can never be identical with one another; they must be distinct, whether eternal or non-eternal, otherwise the foundation of the *Shad-Darshana* is swept away. Now it is not 'guna,' but an aggregate of *three gunas* is said to form 'Prakriti' by equipoise, in one system; and 'Ignorance' by a sum-total, in another. This 'Ignorance' therefore cannot be a synonym of 'guna,' since a sum-total of three is necessary to constitute it. Again (p. 34) 'Ignorance' is said to be 'bhava-rupa,' or in the *shape of entity*; can 'entity' be predicated of 'guna' also? If the dogma of the *Triguna* as 'pure cognition, lively emotion, and inertness,' (p. 35) be philosophically orthodox, why reject their *equipoise* in the shape of an unintelligent 'Prakriti,' and accept their *sum-total* in the shape of 'Ignorance,' as the creator of the world? If the *three qualities* are not eternal; and if they did not give existence to Ignorance, and Ignorance to the world; they are not those of the Vedānta; and Dr. Ballantyne's defence would be that of a shadow. Hence we cannot accept the technical sense proposed for the term 'guna.' Dr. Ballantyne has employed the word 'material' as an equivalent to the technical sense which he proposes of 'guna.' In Appendix A he attempts to shew that there is no word for our 'matter' in sanscrit. On this subject we wish, in passing, to propose two questions for the consideration of the learned Doctor. Supposing our word 'substance' were substituted for the sanscrit terms mentioned in that article—as by common usage, the word *substance* is applied to a spirit as well as to a lump of clay—would it be conclusive to infer, that *substance* is not a term expressive of what we are pleased to call 'matter?' If the sanscrit has no term for 'matter' as distinct from 'soul' or 'spirit,' then what is the distinction between the nine eternal atoms of the Nyāya; and the *Prakriti* of the Sankhya, and their *Purusha*? Dr. Ballantyne ought surely to

give some specific names for those two distinct substances; or admit that Hindu analysis is deplorably defective.

The truth of Position 3rd depends upon the view taken of the Vedántic analysis of man. If Dr. Ballantyne accepts the definition of man furnished by the Upanishads, and recapitulated in the Vedánta Sár; then indeed Vedántic assertions cannot be deemed 'extravagant' by him. Still we suppose the talented, laborious, and excellent missionary, Dr. Duff—for to him we take the allusion to be made in the phrase, 'a zealous writer against Vedántism,' (p. 43.)—may be allowed the liberty of forming his own opinion on the subject. But if the atomic substance called *mind*, as being an 'organ;' a distinct substance from soul; a creator of understanding; of self-consciousness, &c. is a fiction, and has no real existence in the constitution, of man; then is the Vedántic system founded upon an imaginary foundation, and is 'extravagant' therefore; root and branch. Does Dr. Ballantyne accept the Ontology and Cosmology of the Vedánta Sar? Are those of the Bible and of Christendom to be tested by the speculations in that treatise? Is it a duty incumbent upon the disciple of the Bible to believe that the world in the abstract should be conceived to be Ignorance—Ignorance which itself has no absolute existence, but which consists of the totality of three qualities—Ignorance which in its totality is the causal body of God; and in its variety, forms the bodies of individual men; Ignorance which gives existence to the *Taumátras* or five subtle elements, from which it produces intellect, mind, self-consciousness, the five sheathed man, and so forth? No doubt readers of the Bible will deem these doctrines *new*. But if they are true, it is a duty to believe them; and if it is a duty, Dr. Ballantyne should put forth more of his strength to prove and recommend them than he has done in these pages. We write not these lines in a cavilling spirit. Very far from it. We write them with deep grief, under an impression that in this defence of Vedantism, the Truth suffers wrong at the hands of a friend who thus strengthens against her, the hands of a class of men, the most irreverent and captious towards all that is True and Holy and Great.

We are not quite sure, that we understand the sense given to the word 'attribute' in Position 6th. Is it the substance of a thing, or something else attributed to the substance? If 'attribute' denotes the substantial being, as distinguished from the qualities, properties, or manifested powers, which usually serve as the marks (*lakshana*) of substance; and as the 'gunas' or cords by means of which a substance becomes known to others; then is such an 'attribute' the same as the Brahma of the

Vedánta—a thing without a mark, utterly unknown, utterly unknowable, and, as far as man is concerned, a perfect nonentity. This is indeed the Vedantic teaching of Brahma. But if the word ‘attribute’ is used to denote a power or quality belonging to a substantial being, by means of which it becomes manifested to others,—its usual acceptation—then has Vedántic Brahma no such attribute, and the fact of ‘extravagance’ in expression is established. The Brahma of the popular *Upanishads*, the *Saririk Sutra*, and the *Vedanta Sar*, is said to be devoid of any such attributes. It is ‘sheer existence, sheer thought.’ If Dr. Ballantyne supposes that ‘a Christian,’ should accept the theories of the Vedantin and Berkeley in disproof of the ‘unknown quiddity’—the substratum of the external world—how will he meet the theories of the Sankhyas and Hume in disproof of the substratum of spirit—and especially of the quality-less Brahma of the Vedanta?

It seems to be a great mistake and a great injustice to introduce the venerable Bishop of Cloyne into Vedantin fraternity. The Italian Giordano Bruno, the Jew Spinoza, the German Schelling, and even the Welsh-Breton Des Cartes could fraternize with much greater facility. Bruno, Spinoza, and Schelling would very nearly agree with the Vedantin as to the *fact* of the relations of creator and creation; though as to the *means* and *mode* of that relation, they would very greatly differ—the Hindu scheme being incomplete. The scheme of the Ontology of the Vedánta Sar, we take to be this:—

SCHEME OF ONTOLOGY.

- I. Vastu=Joy-thought=Brahma. A thing—Substance of all.
- II. The Triguna=Material of the phenomenal. (How the Triguna were originated; and how related to Vastu, is not explained. It is said in the Upanishad that *Vastu*=Brahma, is incapable of sustaining relations; and has none.) From the Totality of the Triguna arose:—
- III. Ignorance=Maya. Which envelopes the ‘Ego,’ and projects the ‘non-Ego.’ (Whence came the ‘Ego,’ is not explained. But to this ‘Ahám’=‘Ego’ it is said that neither ‘Ego’ nor ‘non-Ego’ could exist, were it not for ‘Ignorance.’ The theory seems confused. In the Vedanta Sar it appears to stand thus: *Ajnána* found an ‘Ego,’ (Ahám) enveloped it, and gave it a conceit of individual existence. And also, there being no ‘non-Ego,’ *Ajnána* gave the ‘Ego’ a notion that there was.)

Against this, at a great distance from it, as regards exactness of treatment, might be given Schelling’s theory of Identity

For convenience's sake Tennemann's synopsis in Morell's translation is furnished :—

SCHELLING'S SCHEME OF ONTOLOGY.

I. The absolute—the universe in its original form—The deity manifested in

II. Nature (the absolute in its secondary form) as Relative and Real—as Relative and Ideal ; according to the following gradations :

Weight—Matter.

Light—Motion,

Organic structure—Life.

Truth—Science.

Goodness—Religion.

Beauty—Art.

Above these gradations, and independent of them, are arranged :

Man (as a Microcosm).

The system of the world (the external universe).

The State.

History.

The similarity of the principle will be discovered at once. It should be observed, however, that Schelling commences with *Das Absolute*, which admits of the predicate Relative ; but *Vastu* and *Brahma* admit of no predicates. The German's superiority in treatment is very obvious. The Hindus are far inferior to the more imaginative Bruno in their method of development. The Hindu begins by begging the question, he takes for granted that *Vastu* is the substance of the world ; and displays all his powers in the attempt to answer the question, ' How came the infinite, unconditioned Thing, to appear finite ? ' The individual soul, admitting the limits of its capacities, replies, ' I don't know.' And then making that ' Ignorance ' the means of his rescue, he undertakes to explain the whole. According to the theory, the *Vastu* never moves, never wills, never acts. The dogma of the *Triguna* does not appear to be indigenous in the Vedānt System. It appears there as an exotic taken up in its crude state, and left undefined and unexplained. Practically considered ' Ignorance ' differs very little from ' Prakriti.' Both are unintelligent. Both create a phenomenal world ; one a world of Illusions, the other a world of Qualities.

Here we close. The ' partial exposition of Christian doctrine ' must be left for the present. We trust that we have succeeded, in some measure, in shewing, that the moral malady of the Hindus has not been so thoroughly examined and laid open in these Essays, as might be desired. The Sanscrit version of Dr. Ballantyne, as regards language, is worthy of his scholarship. All Christendom owes him gratitude for what he has done. We doubt whether there are half-a-dozen Christians on earth, who could dress Christian sentiments in a Sanscrit so chaste, idiomatic, and pure. Though we have been forced to differ from the

learned Doctor on some points; yet we hold his labours in high esteem; and expect much more from his able pen, in aid of the efforts to make Christianity known to the Hindus. There are two points of Christian doctrine, however, of such vital importance, that we regret much Dr. Ballantyne did not enlarge a little more upon them in this Essay. The innate moral depravity of our race and the atonement of Christ. Until the nature and extent of the moral malady are thoroughly known and felt, indifference to the physician and the remedy must prevail. The atonement of Christ has always been the great stumbling block, and the great remedy of the human species. It is the keystone of human hopes; and panacea for human afflictions.

In the atonement alone can our rebellious race behold

‘ Truth, love, and mercy in triumph descending,
And nature all glowing in Eden’s first bloom;
On the cold cheek of death smiles and roses are blending,
And beauty immortal awakes from the tomb.’

Man not only reasons; but also feels. Midway between Reason and Feeling—between the understanding and the heart, between faith and love, is the true place of True Religion. To treat religion—and particularly the Christian religion,—as a metaphysical speculation, is a great injustice towards the God of compassion and love who revealed it; and a great wrong towards the sin-stricken and bewildered man who is in need of it. The religion of the heart only can gain the affections of the Hindus, console, and save them.

Every Hindu, every day that he lives, sees and feels the blighting influences of innate and of actual depravity. He is fully aware that the intellect, the affections, the emotions and the passions of his soul, have fallen into a state of disorder and confusion; that somehow or other, there has been an upsetting of all the furniture of his spiritual nature. Christianity is the only religion among men, that can explain to him the origin, the mode, and the extent of this moral disorder which has befallen his relation with his Maker, Ruler, and Judge. And we regret exceedingly to observe that the Essay contains not a single ‘Aphorism,’ to explain to the Hindu, how the Bible accounts for, dissects, and explains the diseased state of his moral and spiritual nature.

The doctrine of the Atonement also, has not obtained the prominence which its importance demands and deserves. It has been compressed into a single Aphorism, of just two pages, in a *fourth Book*, ‘Of the mysterious points in Christianity,’ preceded by an Aphorism upon the ‘Rule of Excluded Middle.’ This remark proceeds not from a light or censorious spirit, refer-

ring to an apparent incongruity—it proceeds from a spirit quite the reverse. Our heart bleeds. A hundred and fifty millions of deluded men are present before our mind. Those men look up to their few learned teachers, with deep-felt reverence and blind confidence. Here is an Essay written expressly for those teachers; and through them for the millions; having for its object to make known the only remedy provided by a merciful Creator, for maladies which all of them feel, and none of them can cure—to explain to them the conditions of the *new* proclamation of peace and pardon to our rebellious race. We feel, thus deeply because we fear, lest that Essay be too metaphysical, and too brief, to enable its readers to understand the dangerous nature of their maladies, the heinousness of the guilt of their wilful rebellion, and the adaptation and efficacy of the remedy offered them in the Bible. In any future editions of this Essay; and in any future productions from the same able pen for the learned Hindu, we sincerely trust that Jesus Christ shall occupy a far more prominent place.

ART. V.—*Lord Canning's Speech at the opening of the Rajmahal Railway.*

LAST September, the Ganges at Rajmahal was tapped by the Railway.* Henceforth neither passengers nor costly goods will be subject to the freaks of the Nuddea Rivers. The apex of the Delta has been touched by the Iron Horse, and a life and activity will, in consequence, be given to the neighbourhood of Rajmahal, such as has not been known there since Gaur the city of one hundred kings ceased to be the metropolis of Bengal and Behar, and for which its position at the top of the Delta, admirably adapted it.

But it is not merely in connection with Rajmahal and its hills, once the scenes of a bustling activity and of a numerous population, that this opening is to be viewed with interest. The Railway will bring a tide of trade and social life into those solitudes of Behar, once the seat of an Empire over which the great Asoka stretched his rule. The traveller, who, in a miserable, expensive paliki, tries to penetrate the fastnesses south of Bhagulpur, finds before him, in every direction, the wicks and mouldering remains of former greatness. Buddhism has left indelible traces of itself on basalt images, in caves and on the rocks of Rajgriha and Monghyr, while the mountain eyries of the highland Chiefs of Rajmahal shew what power the feudal system exercised, in the days of Behar's greatness. What will it be when the whole country from Rajmahal to Benares becomes pervious to the merchant, the miner, the missionary, the schoolmaster and even the indolent Bengali babu?

As an instrument for awakening an interest in Behar's mental, religious and social improvement, the railway will be of great value. The Behar people have, ever since Buddhist days, been cut off from mental light and intercourse with foreigners: the Moguls did little for Behar; its fine population were never appealed to on moral or intellectual topics, since the days that Sakyea Muni made the groves of Gaya echo with Buddhist mottos. We quote on this subject the excellent remarks of Lord Canning, made at the opening of the Rajmahal Railway.

* Not far from the spot where according to Hindu myth, Kapil Muni, disturbed by it in his devotions, swallowed the whole river:—this myth probably referred to that change in its bed, that sent the main stream in an Easterly direction, while formerly it flowed down by Nuddea.

'We began this day's journey at a spot washed by the tides of the Bay of Bengal, and within a stone's throw of the anchorage of some of the noblest ships, which, to the furtherance of commerce and all its attendant blessings, the skill and enterprise of our fellow-country-men have launched upon the ocean. We have ended it in an inland district, 200 miles off, where not only are the uses of the great highway of nations uncared for and unknown, but where the very name of the "black water" is a word of mystery and terror. We began our journey at the chief seat of Western trade and civilization on this side of the globe, the head quarters of England's power in Asia, and we have closed it almost under the walls of the ancient capital of Bengal and Behar—the city of Gour—which, little more than two centuries ago, was not surpassed by any in India, for its busy population and magnificence, but which now lies a mass of tangled ruins and rank forest, tenanted by wild beasts, reeking with fever, and void not only of human industry, but of human life. In travelling between these two points,—points of such striking contrast—we have passed through a country teeming with population and covered thick with all that is necessary to the sustenance of man. We have skirted a district abounding in mineral wealth, and already eagerly seizing the opportunity, as yet imperfectly afforded to it, of pouring this wealth into the great centre of activity in Calcutta. We have been carried through the wild country of the Sonthals, one of the rudest and wildest races of India, but a race not insensible to kindly government, and who, if their hills and jungles had been as accessible five years ago as they are now, would have been at once checked in a purposeless rebellion. Lastly, we find ourselves standing on the bank of the great Ganges, at that point at which it is in the interests of Commerce, that the tedious and uncertain navigation of its lower waters should be exchanged for a short and secure land carriage.'

The Rajmahal Railway, like the Mutla Line, its future southern extension, has been driven through a land of tigers and cholera; on both lines the laborers have had to battle with the deadly miasma of jungles, the growth of centuries;—and in some instances have been carried off, in broad daylight, by wild beasts, whose lairs, undisturbed for ages have been intruded on by the stranger with his iron road. Three centuries ago there was a dense population near the Rajmahal hills, as there was then in the Sunderbunds. In the centre of the Santal Country are to be found now the remains of large tanks and palaces, erected before the Santal migrated into it, about sixty years ago.

In a similar way, in North Tirhut, the ruins of the once mighty cities of Janakpu and Simrun, 14 miles in circumference, remain amid what are now the haunts of tigers and boars, rife with malaria. It was the long struggle between Hindus and Moslem that reduced this land to a terai or deadly jungle. Some similar catastrophe must have taken place in the Rajmahal hills.

One great advantage we look forward to from the railway is, that it will leave those Europeans without excuse, who fancy that, because they know Calcutta or one of the Presidency towns, they are therefore competent to give an opinion on India, or even on Bengal. Even eight hours by this Railway will tell them not to judge Behar men by the Bengali standard; they will see there a different race of men. In a few years a Calcutta

cockney, who has never travelled beyond Chandernagore, will be a curiosity fit for the British Museum. The railway will also check that tendency to centralization which looms so fearfully in the future horizon of India. Federalism, which combines local action with a centralizing supervision, is what we want, and the railway will, in one respect, greatly favour the principle of 'unity amid diversity.' As the stream of the Ganges, like that of the Nile, and other great rivers, has been the diffuser of civilization along its banks, so is the railway likely to prove a line of light through mofussil darkness, enabling the merchant, the educator, and the missionary to gain access to 'the highways and hedges' of the Santal and other districts.

Holidays will be rendered doubly valuable by the Railway, as Lord Canning remarked in his Rajmahal Speech :

'The vast distances to be traversed by all whom business or pleasure puts in motion, the fierce climate which for so many hours of the day makes exertion and exposure eminently hazardous, and the fact that a life of bodily activity or mental toil in India is one of daily risk—all conspire to render any alleviation of labor, and any new facilities for relaxation, a boon of inestimable value to every class, whether soldier or civilian, independent gentleman, or servant of the State.'

'To British Science and British Enterprise shall be committed in India the noble task of bringing security, comfort, and comparative wealth within the reach of races as yet ignorant of these; of extending the field of profitable industry to them; of supplying the wants of some by the superfluities of others; of enhancing prosperity where it exists, and of reviving it where it has drooped and decayed; of promoting fellowship between men, and of bringing light into dark places.'

The railway will increase country tastes and particularly favor the study of geology and botany, so neglected in this country. The class of natives will gradually become rare, who, like a Bengali babu some time ago, could tell a Geological Surveyor he had seen many hills near Calcutta; when asked, where? he said,—the embankments of the tanks.

Punctuality, so wanting in our native friends, will be taught more effectively by the rail than by the schoolmaster,—the train waits for no one, as many a native has already found to his cost.

To shew the gradually increasing influence of this line, we give the following tables—which tell their own story. They show how the masses appreciate the railway.

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

The numbers conveyed per mile were in

1854-55.....	2,983
1855-56.....	6,933
1856-57.....	8,377
1857-58	9,120
1858-59	9,661

Numbers conveyed of each Class per mile.

YEAR ENDING.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
30th June 1855.	77·6	375·5	2,536·9
„ 1856.	100·4	442·7	6,389·5
„ 1857.	110·8	432·2	7,834·3
„ 1858.	122·0	427·8	8,562·8
„ 1859.	106·3	403·5	9,151·5

Receipts from each Class.

YEAR ENDING.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Total.	Average Receipts per mile.
30th June 1855.	£ 1,890	£ 2,949	£ 18,658	£ 23,497	£ 194·8
„ 1856.	2,634	3,801	28,355	43,790	353·6
„ 1857.	3,735	4,811	45,938	54,484	450·2
„ 1858.	5,132	5,937	47,787	58,856	486·4
„ 1859.	5,814	5,169	62,964	73,947	520·8

Passengers conveyed by the East Indian Railway.

YEAR ENDING.	Miles open.	NUMBER OF PASSENGERS.			Total.
		1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	
31st May 1855.	121	9,302	43,896	330,546	383,744
30th June 1856.	121	12,049	53,074	773,135	838,858
„ „ 1857.	121	13,409	52,301	947,958	1,013,668
„ „ 1858.	121	14,763	51,765	1,037,106	1,103,634
„ „ 1859.	142	15,106	57,309	1,199,517*	1,271,932
(24 Miles, opened 1st October, 1858.)	•	•	•	•	•

* It was often said that caste, and native prejudice would prevent the mass of natives availing themselves of the rail; but in India, as elsewhere the common people have more common sense than they get credit for—cheap fares, and comparative freedom from railway accidents, decided the question.

*Receipts from Passengers and Goods, on the East Indian Railway,
with working expenses.*

YEAR ENDING.	Passen- gers.	Miscel- laneous.	Goods.	Total.	Working Expenses.	Net Profits.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
30th June 1855.	23,487	1,924	6,037	31,453	20,822	10,631
" 1856.	43,790	4,618	33,771	82,178	33,765	48,413
" 1857.	54,484	6,598	52,564	113,646	44,162	69,484
" 1858.	58,856	14,572	76,804	150,232	62,507	87,725
" 1859.	73,947	12,751	1,18,889	205,587	96,184	109,403

Another social point connected with the Railway relates to treatment of the natives working on it. On this we quote from Lord Canning's speech at Rajmahal, where having thanked the Company's officers for the treatment of their natives, he observed.

'Their treatment and management of the population with whom they have been brought into daily contact has been worthy of all praise. I speak from personal knowledge on this point. During three years, until the time when the chief Governmental superintendence of its affairs was committed to the able and watchful care of my honorable friend the Lieutenant Governor, the E. I. Railway was directly under the control of the Governor General in Council; and I cannot call to mind that in that time a single instance occurred of coercion or oppression on the part of the officers of the Company, or of any want of cordiality and good will between the employers and their native servants, or laborers. I can remember no case of harsh dealing, or inconsiderateness of any kind. Both parties soon understood each other, and there has, so far as I know, been no interruption of that good understanding.'

'This, let me say it, is no light praise. The natives of Bengal, of whom, in one way and another not less than 118,000 are daily working on this Railway, are, in this part of the province, a timid suspicious people,—easily taking alarm at novelties,—averse to interference with their usages, unused to steady labor, fickle, and too often crooked in their ways. There are however, a few painful exceptions, chiefly with regard to contractors. Mr. Turnbull remarks of the contractors of the Patna division. "The railway works were in very bad odour among the natives, whose dealings with the late contractors left no favorable impressions on their minds."

He then made the following remarks: which deserve to be written in letters of gold,

'Gentlemen, it is of no use to deny or conceal it, for it is known to all the world, we Englishmen with all our great national characteristics, are not, as a people, conciliatory or attractive. God forbid that any of us should feel ashamed of his national character, or wish it to be other than it is. But none amongst us will deny that the very virtues of that character are not seldom exaggerated into faults. We are powerful in body and mind, and we are proud of that power. We are self-reliant, and justly so, and we like to shew our self-reliance. We are conscious of our own high purposes, and enlightenment, and we are apt to look down upon those, whose motives we believe to be less worthy than our own, or whom we regard as debased in ignorance, and we do not care to conceal our feelings. These failings are not inconsistent with our national greatness. In the days of slavery, Englishmen were amongst the hardest task-masters that the

African ever had; but England did not hesitate to spend her gold and her blood lavishly for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and we poured out our twenty millions like water, when we found that it was the only means by which to rid ourselves of the curse of slavery.'

'But, Gentlemen, no people, whatever their condition, will patiently bear to be treated by their rulers as though they were less than men, less rational, less capable of right feeling than those who rule them. If we attempt, individually or collectively, to do this, if we neglect to win the heart of those over whom Providence has placed us, if instead of seeking to inspire them with confidence, we take for our maxim that the people of India should be governed as a conquered people—which, as I understand it, means that they should be governed by sheer force,—if in our pride or impatience we refuse to show forbearance and indulgence to the weaknesses and shortcomings which attend us, we shall not worthily represent England in the great work which lies before her, and we shall assuredly fail to accomplish it.'

We give in a tabular statement the number of natives employed, on the Railway and their respective localities. Such a number of men, with such wages, must have had a considerable effect on the labour market of Bengal.

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

BENGAL DIVISION.

Statement of daily average of work-people employed on the construction of the several Divisions of the line of Railway, for the twelve months, from the 31st May, 1859 to 31st May, 1860.

NAMES OF DIVISIONS OR DISTRICTS.	Excavators.	Brickmakers.	Bricklayers.	Labourers.	Carpenters.	Sawyers.	Blacksmiths.	Total.
	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.	Per day.
South Birbhum,	755	376	312	9,070	417	69	498	11,497
North Birbhum,	3,185	452	306	4,460	118	67	14	8,602
South Rajmahal,	4,773	153	65	5,275	94	25	22	10,407
Centre Rajmahal,	4,367	none	260	4,508	327	101	89	13,672
North Rajmahal,	4,853	286	483	6,903	334	18	81	12,958
Pirpointi,	3,070	655	180	5,201	115	47	30	9,898
Bhagulpur,	482	282	190	5,941	70	15	24	4,984
Jehangirah,	2,121	403	177	2,014	26	17	13	4,771
Monghyr,	1,322	485	311	4,964	265	60	324	7,751
Kiul,	663	266	106	2,763	142	39	60	4,039
Hallohur,	2,122	903	276	4,336	137	92	84	7,950
Bar,	2,144	920	235	3,672	122	53	13	7,159
Patna,	905	103	125	3,045	122	15	26	4,341
Soane District,	2,862	874	548	4,336	84	35	33	8,772
Soane Bridge,	72	69	1,494	204	38	81	32	4,990
Total,	38,316	6,307	5,068	64,692	2,431	734	1,343	118,791

(Signed) GEORGE TURNBULL,

26th September, 1860.

We give further Tables at page 141.

The trunk line is now viâ Rajmahal, which will answer as far as Monghyr, and so onwards as the loop line, but we believe the direct communication with the N. W. P. will ultimately be by the Barrakur to Patna, thus saving 100 miles, and opening out the Cornwall, as well as the Switzerland of Bengal to the philanthropist, and the merchant. Already an extension is being made to the Barrakur from Ranigunj: it will then probably pass by the Kuhurbali Coal Fields, and through the Gobindpur Valley, which is the exit from the high table land of Ramghur to the fertile plains of Behar and so on to Patna. The rail will create a wide extent of traffic, as has been shewn by the opening at Bhedeia and elsewhere.*

In addition to the Ranigunj line being likely to be the main one, it will lead to *Parasnath*, and on the completion of the present extension line to the Barrakur, a drive of 54 miles only will lead to the top of *Parasnath*, or by the future main line from the Barrakur to Patna, which will land the traveller at the Kuhurbali Coal Fields, with the adjacent copper mines, only 20 miles distant from *Parasnath*.

* The hill scenery beyond the Barrakur extending to *Parasnath* and the Dunwa pass will be most refreshing to the person 'long in populous cities 'pent.'—Even now, one can leave Calcutta by the mail train at night and breakfast in the morning at the top of *Parasnath*.

Major Sherwill, so well known for the valuable Statistical information he has furnished the public regarding Bhagulpur, Monghyr, Malda, and the Sunderbunds, has lately published a letter on the subject of a direct line in which he gives the following arguments in its favor—Patna and the N. W. P. would be 300 instead of 400 miles from Calcutta—Coal from Kuhurbali could be laid down at Patna, for the same price as Ranigunj Coal is sold in Calcutta—the fertility of the country between Gobindpur Valley and the Ganges produces heavy crops from a soil that has not been manured for 2000 years—even the roads are ploughed up in the wet season to give a crop—the exports are forwarded only by pack-bullocks, dilatory and expensive, to the Ganges, where the produce is sent by boats to Calcutta. Zemindars and exporters could go by train to Calcutta, instead of trusting dishonest brokers and grain-dealers who fleece them. Close to the hills is much waste land not cultivated, because the exports would hardly pay its carriage to the Ganges. The Zemindars of Behar are rich, and food is cheap.—Pergunnah Surrai, Nuriut, Behar, along the proposed lines are the chief places which furnish Rice, Wheat, Barley, Gram, Oil-seeds, Sugar, Tobacco, Turmeric, Mace, Iron, Hides, Gums, Dye Stuffs, Tusser, Carpets, Stone-plates, Ochre.—100,000 Pilgrims from the N. W. P. and Gya pass along this line, and in the cold weather, taking the route to Deoghur and Juggernauth, returning at the close of the cold season; at Kurukdehe, the stream of pilgrims divides; the one proceeding south to the *Parasnath*, the other east to Deoghur; they again unite near Burdwan. The train would take up the *Parasnath* pilgrims at Nawadah, and convey them to Kuhurbali, and after visiting *Parasnath* would take them to Ranigunj. The pilgrims going to Deoghur would be conveyed also from Nawadah to Kurukdehe 50 miles.—The Brahmins do not object to pilgrims travelling by rail as they arrive much richer and better able to offer a large present to the Brahmins. The Gobindpur Valley is now much dreaded by pilgrims who on their passage keep watch and ward all night long to prevent the attacks of tigers and thieves. Immense numbers of local pilgrims stream towards the

The construction of the Railway itself presents many objects of interest—rails, the difficulty of their supply—sleepers, whether more lasting of iron or of wood; the latter how best prepared—fencing, the most effectual kind—bridges, their well foundations, their piers, their arches, their girders—ballast; the various descriptions, artificial and natural—the beds of rivers, if changed for railway bridges, how far likely to be permanent—contractors, their failures and the causes—the epidemics and mortality among the coolies, how far avoidable. But our object in this article is rather to interest our readers in the moral and social aspects presented by the extension of the railway, enlarging the views of Europeans and Natives, lessening the influence of caste, and increasing the facilities of travelling, and so making more accessible the various places of historical interest which lie near the line.

As the historical associations on the Railway line between Calcutta and Ranigunj, connected with the French at Chander-nagor, the Dutch at Chinsura, and the Portuguese at Hugly, have been noticed in Cone's Railway Guide, we will begin with the Kanai or Burdwan junction, which will eventually supersede Burdwan as an engine-changing station, connecting the Ranigunj station with the main line by a loop line, and confine our remarks to places between that and Rajmahal, where the line ends at present. Our space is limited, consequently our notices must be brief; but ample information may be found in old histories. We notice places in the order in which they lie, starting from Burdwan.

We enter the Birbhum District across the Aji. The Aji which rises near Monghyr, separates Birbhum from the Burdwan District, which receives along with Tirhut, the name of the garden of Bengal. It is navigable only for a few weeks in the rains. Coal mines are met close to its banks. This river receives a number of tributaries: it flows into the Hugly near Cutwa, memorable for Clive's Victory of Plassey. We cross the Aji river by a bridge 1,800 feet long, over arches of 50 feet span each. We leave behind the Burdwan District, and enter the Birbhum Zillah, the Bengal Highlands. A Scotchman would smile at these being called Highlands, but they are such to a Calcutta man. These hills were once noted for Mahratta raids, but will hereafter, we trust, be associated with iron and copper

Rajgir Hills, the reputed birth place of Gautama: these are 12 miles south-west of Behar city, close to the proposed lines and have 12 hot and 4 cold springs. Commerce in Asiatic countries generally follows the same road as that pursued by pilgrims. The Behar people are fond of travelling, having numerous shrines or places of local veneration in their district.

foundries, and the development of extensive mineral resources. Birbhum was once a little Belgium, an arena for Mahratta and Moslem to exhibit their prowess in, though the former generally adopted the Parthian system of warfare, fighting and retreating. As late as A. D. 1814, the roads were so infested with robbers, that pilgrims could not pass through Deogur on the way from Benares to Jagannath—but by giving the robbers lands, on condition of keeping the roads clear, the robberies were put down. The oldest town in Birbhum is *Nagore*, the residence of a Musalman Raja; it has an entrenchment thrown up against the Mahrattas, from twelve to eighteen feet high, which extends round the town for the distance of thirty two miles. *Molisser* on the road from Suri to Murshidabad is surrounded by eighty tanks;—in this Zillah, tanks for irrigation are very common. It is very important for these districts that there are a number of jhils, which serve as natural drainage basins in the freshes, and prevent the floods from devastating the country. Artificial basins, with a similar view, are now being formed near the Mississippi. *Baklesur* is noted for its hot-springs and cheating Brahmins. *Baidanath* is a famous place of pilgrimage for Hindus from all parts of India, but especially from Scinde and Rajputana; they come in February. Its temple is said to have been built by a Chol Raja from Mysore, who had invaded the country.

Surul, the first station North of the Aji, has largely increased since the Railway staff settled here. The great mortality in certain parts of the South Birbhum District, has led to various sanitary improvements in Surul:—it has a dispensary and hospital; near Surul are the remains of the old commercial residency, retaining with its twenty five rooms, the relics of the old palatial style and mode of living, when the Residents were the princes of the land. A road, metalled and bridged, leads from the Surul station to Ilambazar noted for its elegant lac ornaments made by only two men. It is on the Damuda, which is there a quarter of a mile wide. The country to the West is described as an extensive coal field, having also plenty of iron.—*Cutwa* is thirty one miles distant from Surul.

The next place of importance is *Synthea*: the Bridge is 1,500 feet long; in the dry season it is over a wilderness of sand. Water is procured by digging in the sands of this river. The bed of the More river here is in places quite black with magnetic iron dust, which clings in clusters to the magnet. The lover of Geology may see to the north of the village a high gravel bank, composed of pink quartz, with pieces of quartz felspar, and pisiform iron ore intermixed. The Harpah or bore in

this river at the first fall of rain is a curious sight. A journey of an hour and three quarters from Synthea takes the traveller to the Birbhum Iron works of Messrs Mackey & Co.: the first pig iron manufactured in Bengal upon the English principle, was smelted here in January 1856; two tons of iron are produced daily, and three European smelters are employed. The district is rich in coals, and iron; even the ballast laid along the line at Synthea gives 15 per cent. of iron. A metalled road, eight miles long, leads from Synthea to Suri, the capital of Birbhum.

A road leads from Synthea to Jammakundi, a large town with many substantial buildings and temples, sixteen miles S. W. of Berhampore. Beyond this is Rangamatti, the site of an extensive city, when the Ganges, then four miles wide, flowed by it. The Western boundary of the river may be still distinctly traced by a bank of stiff clay, gravel, and nodular limestone, about fifteen feet high, which runs along as far as Rajmahal.

Rampur Hat is a changing station of the Railway. The house of the Resident Engineer, with its nice garden in front, is a pleasant sight. This place was in great danger during the last Santal insurrection, and some hard fighting took place near it. We trust the authorities have learnt the lesson, that the school-master is, in the long run, cheaper than the soldier. This insurrection, which might have been easily prevented, had the officials redressed the evils of the Mahajan system *in time*, cost the Government many lacs. Similarly the expenditure against the Kukis, a few months ago, cost the State one lac of rupees. The Santal leaders, were simple ryots; and their allies were cowherds, oilmen and blacksmiths.

Nalhati is the first station in the Murshidabad District, now so famous for its mulberry cultivation. A road leads from this via Jeaganj, a large mercantile emporium, to the city of Murshidabad, thirty five miles distant, and may ultimately form a branch line of the railway. Whoever wishes to study the morals and manners of a Moslem Court during the last century, must peruse the pages of the *Seir Mutakherin*, where the state of things previous to the English conquest is unfolded—the name of Ali Verdy Khan is the one redeeming feature in the landscape. The voice of revels is now hushed in Murshidabad—its Moslem nobles left it when the capital was removed. But the ruins of Gysabad near it, not far from the Nalhati road, remind us with its Páli inscriptions, of the day when Buddhism ruled the country instead of the Crescent. Captain J. E. Gastrell, in his Statistical Report of Murshidabad, states of this place, ‘Moorshe-dabad, commonly called by the natives Maksoodabad, is seven

' miles South of Jeeagunge, on the Bhaugiruttee. There are ' no defined limits to it as a city, nor is there any part known ' specially by the above names; it appears to be a name given ' to an indiscriminate mass of temples, mosques, handsome ' pucca houses, gardens, walled enclosures, huts, hovels and ' tangled jungle containing the ruins of many edifices that have ' sprung up, and decayed, around the residences of the former ' and present Nawabs Nazim of Moorshedabad.'

Murshidabad calls up many historical associations, numerous enough to have an article to itself in this Review. It is full of the past;—the days of Jagat Set, the Rothschild of Bengal,—of Ali Verdy its Akbar,—of Suraja Daula, of the Aurungzebe type. The objects worth seeing now are the Palace, the tombs of Ali Verdy, and of Suraja Daula, the ruins of the Residency, of the Dutch factory at Kalkapur, and the ivory carvings of Murshidabad. For an account of these consult Captain Gastrell's Geographical Report of the Murshidabad District, and the Seir Mutakherin.

Pulsa is on the Bansli one of those hill streams which rise to such an enormous height after a heavy flood. Jungipur on the Bhagirathi is only sixteen miles from Pulsa. Near Pulsa is the Nobinger Jhil a great haunt for tigers, who lurk in grass that grows twenty feet high: this jhil was probably the old bed of the Ganges.

Pakour is the first Station we meet with in the Santal country. It is the residence of one of the Santal Deputy Commissioners. There is a Martello tower here thirty feet high and twenty feet in diameter, loopholed for musketry, with space on the top for one or two light guns. It was built in 1856 for the protection of the railway officers, and railway bungalows, when the latter were rebuilt after the Santal insurrection of 1856. This tower afforded protection against a company of mutinous sepoys in 1858. From the tower a fine view is to be had of the Rajmahal hills, and Jungipur. Pakour contains 1,400 houses, and is the residence of a Raja. A road is being made from Pakour to Suti thirteen and a half miles, at the junction of the Bhagirathi and Ganges rivers which will open out an important place of trade. Within sixteen miles of Suti is the Mahananda river, the great artery of the Malda District, and forming the boundary between Dinajpur and Rungpūr. Malda is situated on it, and the ruins of Gaur are within a few miles of it; near it is Bogwangola, on the banks of the Ganges, occupied chiefly by sheds for the accommodation of the grain merchants who resort to the fair there: it is therefore more of an encampment than a town, the Ganges having repeatedly swept the place away. A road from Malda to Jungipur will shortly be finished. *Geria* five miles N.

E. of Jungipur, famous for its silk filatures, is memorable as the place where Major Adams, at the head of 800 English and 2000 Sipahis, defeated, in a hard fought battle, Mir Kassim's Troops in August 1768. Patna at that time was lost to the English.

A little beyond Pakour we cross the *Bansli* River by a bridge with 8 openings, 60 feet wide, 35 feet above the river's level; a mile to the west on its banks is Mohespur, where in 1855, a body of 8,000 Santals were defeated by a detachment of Sepoys, and stripped of the plunder they had gained at Pakour.

The cuttings are through basalt and gravel to a depth of 18 feet. The line from the More to Rajmahal was finished by the Railway Company, who in one year did as much work as the Contractors did in three.

Bahawa is the nearest station to Burheit the capital of the Santal pergunnahs, accessible by a carriage road leading through a very pretty country, amid the windings of the Gomani valley. Near Burheit a battle was fought by the English with the Santals, which ended in the capture of their leaders Sidu and Kana, who believed themselves to be inspired by a god. It is lamentable to say, that for much of the interest now taken in the Santals we are indebted to fear; when in 1855 the Santal insurrection so suddenly and unexpectedly blazed forth, and it was ascertained that these simple people were driven to insurrection through oppressions unredressed, the cry was raised what has the Christian world done to enlighten them? Half the population to the east of Bahawa belong to the Vaishnab sect.

The works in the Gomani valley were very expensive, owing to the sickness of the coolies, consequent on the unhealthiness of the country. On the left of Bahawa lies the *Damini Koh*, distinguished for its fine scenery; but the hills have been much stripped of trees, in order to supply charcoal to the iron smelters of Birbhum. Coal mines are in various parts here very useful for brick-making on the railway, and in affording employment to the Santals.

The subject of irrigation is one of great consequence to the Damini Koh districts: though what Sir A. Cotton effected at Rajmundry may be impossible on the Ganges.* Sir A. Cotton shews that a revenue of £ 8,000,000 sterling might be raised from works of irrigation; the example of the sandy desert of

* At Rajmundry, he threw a weir 4 miles across the river, fronding it with 1,500 miles of channels to irrigate 700,000 acres. It soon doubled the revenue, raised the agricultural exports ten fold, and increased the annual number of boats in the canal from 700 the first year to 13,000 the last year.

the Cavery, rendered most fertile by irrigation, will ever remain as Col. Cotton's *monumentum are-perennius*.

Uda Nulla Pass, seen in the distance between the river and a spur of the hills, reminds us of the progress of British power; here, in 1768, Major Adams forced the lines of fortification erected by Kasim Ali, when he designed to make Rajmahal his Moslem capital, and Uda Nulla a barrier against the British, who have now reached Peshawar. The pass was formidably entrenched, the ditch being deep, fifty or sixty feet wide and full of water; it held out against the English for a month, but was carried by an attack on the hill forming the right of the lines, and a feint on the river end: but the loss was severe; this led to the reconquest of Menghyr, and the massacre of the English at Patna by Sombre the German adventurer.

The *Sita Pahar* cutting is a work of immense labor through solid basalt; three or four thousand men have been employed on the mining and blasting work. The first contractors abandoned it in despair. The stone is as hard as iron, but on exposure to the air melts away. A jhil to the East of Sita Pahar is navigable in the rains for boats to the Ganges.

The *Rajmahal Junction* was three years ago a dense tiger jungle; near it two Europeans were killed by Santals in the insurrection. Hill men and Santals may now be seen paying their pice to go by rail from the Junction. On the right the approach to Rajmahal is through jhils and jungle with an occasional ruin, *not yet* turned into ballast, peeping out. The *Domjala Jhil* South of Rajmahal is a fine sheet of water. In the rains it extends seven miles from East to West, three miles from North to South. Kasim Ali intended to have erected on its banks a fine summer house. There is also another fine jhil the Ananta Sarabar; both these jhils are cultivated in the dry season: the river in its vagaries probably flowed where those jhils are now. On the left, within a mile of Rajmahal Station, we pass Begumpur, which, three years ago, contained the ruins of the enormous Zenanah of Sultan Suja, capable of accommodating a thousand "lights of the harem"—all has been ruthlessly used up for ballast. To the North of it, a place, now a jhil, was once an extensive sheet of water, where regattas and aquatic sports were engaged in for the amusement of the inmates of the Zenana. Opposite to it the Sultan's Army of 30,000 men used to be encamped.

Rajmahal, the apex of the Bengal Delta is the *present* point for tapping the Ganges traffic. The Railway Company by means of two tram roads, have formed a connection between the river and station, available even when the Ganges is at its lowest; but

there is little doubt Rajmahal will, for up-country boats, have to yield the palm to Colgong, which saves a long detour: at all events even Rajmahal will save merchandise being forced for nine months in the year to make a detour, before reaching Calcutta, of five hundred miles,—by railway the distance is only two hundred miles; thus avoiding the Sunderbunds, with its salt water and tigers, dangerous winds, pestiferous jungle and worm-eaten boats.

Time will gradually show the influence that will be exercised by the Railway over the populous and commercial districts of Malda, Bhagulpur, Purnea, Tirhut, Monghyr,* Behar, Patna, Sarun, Shahabad, Ghazipur, mutually brought into contact by it, while tributary rivers form a link, such as the Kosi with Purnea, the Gandak with Tirhut and Gorukpur, the Gogra with Chupra and Gorukpur, the Surjyea with Ghazipur and Azimghur, the Gumti with Jaunpur and Oude, and the Soane with Shahabad: Sugar, Salt, Opium, Indigo, Saltpetre, and Oilseed are already carried down the Ganges to the amount of ninety thousand tons annually.

Rajmahal is a modern city dating from Akbar's times.* It has a pretty approach by rail through a hilly country: boulders are to be met with near it. The spot selected for the station is very suitable, as the river does not cut away, and it is near the native town. Rajmahal contained in 1811, two hundred brick houses, fifteen thousand thatch houses and thirty thousand people. During the whole time of the Mogul Government it was a place of some importance; but Jehangir's son, Sultan Sujah, was the real founder of it, by making it his residence and the capital of Bengal and Behar, for which by its locality it was well situated,—far better than Murshidabad. Subsequently disliking Gaur, which his grandfather had called an earthly paradise, he erected, A. D. 1630, at Rajmahal, a handsome palace, the *Sangdalan*, of which little now remains,† the stone having been used in building by the Nawabs of Murshidabad. The hall of black marble which once formed Sultan Suja's *boitakana*, now makes a comfortable sitting room for the Railway Engineer. The encroachments of the river, the demand for its

* Major Wilford assigned it as the site of the ancient Palibothr, but he subsequently altered that opinion and assigned Bhagulpur as the site. Native tradition states that Timur laid the plan of it, induced mainly by its central situation, combined with a supply of good water; but Man Sing, a Rajput, raised it, in Akbar's time, to great note, and encouraged Hindus to resort largely to it.

† Except a small but elegant hall opening on the River's ancient bed. The roof is vaulted with stone delicately carved, the walls have traces of gildings and Arabic inscriptions. It is described by Heber, Journal Vol. I. p. 256.

stones for the Murshidabad palace, and English utilitarianism, have reduced the palace to a ruin. Tennant maintains (II—127) that its circumference was equal to that of Windsor: its walls were seven to fourteen feet thick, and twenty feet under the earth. Its flower gardens, aqueducts and galleries over the river, have passed away. South-West of the Sangdalan was the Phulvari garden-house erected by Sultan Suja.* Near it at *Begumpoor* is the tomb of *Bakhtehome*,† widow of an aid-de-camp to Aurungzebe: it has a considerable endowment. The antiquities of Rajmahal commence a mile from the city on the Bhagulpore high road.‡ Some way South is the tomb of Ali Verdi Khan's father, and a little further South is *Nageswarbag*, a palace built by Kasim Ali, five hundred feet square.§

In 1638, an earthquake threw down many buildings in Rajmahal. Besides this a conflagration, and the subsequent removal of the capital to Dacca, led to its destruction. The few remains left near the present station, the material exuviae of a past social state, have been used as ballast. Bishop Heber visited Rajmahal in 1824, and fully describes the ruins. Heber's Journal, Vol. I. pp. 255-7.

The old grave-yard to the North-West of the Hotel contains the remains of Surgeon Boughton, the man who, having gone from Surat to Agra in 1636, and cured the daughter of Shah Jehan, as his fee obtained a patent for his countrymen to trade free of customs duties. He went with this view to Rajmahal and there cured one 'of the lights of' Sultan Suja's 'harem.' He remained in his service enjoying a splendid stipend and secured for his countrymen the privilege of free trade. In consequence of this the East India Company sent ten ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which were introduced to Sultan Suja at Rajmahal. They were kindly received, and their views of extending English trade were promoted; for the Sultan, like the great Akbar, was a friend to trade.

Following the Bhagulpur road to the West we come upon the ruins of old Rajmahal which for three miles stretched its line of

* The *Zanana* now turned into ballast must have contained 200 separate apartments, and was situated on the banks of what was then a lake, several miles in extent, but which is now a fetid marsh.

† Occupied by a railway officer and loop-holed, a tower was erected in the Santal insurrection for defence.

‡ You pass to them through cottages, palm trees and ruined musjids.

§ Much of it has been used for ballasting the Rail. See drawing in the Calcutta Engineers' Journal, November 2nd, 1857; Ditto May 3rd 1859, of a ruined gateway.

aristocratic buildings on the bank of what was then the bed of the Ganges—no artisans or common people were allowed to live in this Belgravia of Rajmahal. We explored the ruins on an elephant; first, on the left hand side we come to the tomb of Miran who co-operated in the assassination of Sauraja Daula; lights are still kept burning at it;—then to *patara koti* a stone house built by a Mahajan;—then to the remains of the famous Jagat Set's house, of which only the foundations and two buttresses remain; he was worth in Clive's time £8,000,000 sterling; on the right we see the tomb of Eteramed Daula; near it the Roshun mosque built by the same prince two centuries ago. Four miles from Rajmahal, on the South side, is Man Singh's *Jumma Musjid*, great even in ruin.—The *Jumma musjid* was built by Man Singh as a palace, but a complaint being made by a jealous Moslem officer to the emperor Akbar, that he was building an idol temple, Man Singh to defeat his object, turned it into a mosque, measuring in the inside one hundred and thirty eight feet by sixty feet; and opposite to it, on a mound, he erected a splendid house, called Huduf, which is still shewn; it is about four miles from Rajmahal on the Bhagulpur road. Its ruins are still imposing, and, situated on an eminence, it must have had a fine view when the full tide of the Ganges swept close to its walls. Near it is a bridge with four towers, which Kasim Ali fled across, after his defeat at Uda Nulla, though he could have made a stand here, as it was fortified with cannon.

Long ages must have elapsed since the waves of the Bay of Bengal washed the Rajmahal hills,* and ever since that period the Bengal Delta has been gradually extending into the sea; notwithstanding all the assertions of pilots and merchants, the day may not be probably far distant when much of the trade of

* Assuming Ellet's calculations, that the Mississippi Delta took 45,000 years for its formation, the Ganges must have taken far more.

Tradition and local examination shew according to Buchanan Hamilton III. 15, that the Kosi formerly flowed, far to the South East, *via* Tajpur and joined the Bruhmaputra,—that the great lakes North and East from Malda, are remains of the Kosi, united to the Mahanadi, and that on the junction of the Ganges and Kosi, the two opened the passage now called the Padma, and the old bed of the Bhagirathi from Suti to Nuddea, was deserted by the great river. This is in accordance with native tradition, which considers the Bhagirathi that flows down by Hugly as the true Ganges,—Captain Layard is of the same opinion, and so is Major Sherwill as the result of observation. At Tirtapur or Jahnavi, near the mouth of the Bhagirathi, is a famous place of pilgrimage, where, according to the myth, Kapil Muni swallowed the Ganges, and when Bhagirathi recovered her, she was stolen by Sunkasur, who led her down the banks of the Padma; with difficulty Bhagirathi recalled the Goddess to the narrow Channel at Suti. Hamilton writes of this: 'These legends I have no doubt owe their origin, to changes which have taken place in the course of the river, and which are probably of no very remote antiquity.'

Calcutta must be transferred to the Mutla, and the city of Palaces must submit to the freaks of the Ganges as Gaur has had to do. The Ganges forsook Gaur, and thus contributed to its decay, as the Nile's vagaries did to that of Memphis. The Delta of the Mississippi which advances five miles in a century, is a warning to Calcutta. Similarly the deposit of the Po has converted cities, which at the beginning of the Christian era were good seaports, into inland towns, now twenty miles away from the sea shore.

In 1841 a survey was made for a Ganges *Canal* between Rajmahal and Calcutta. Nothing has been done as yet; but the railway will not supersede river navigation for bulky articles, as has been shewn in England and America. In 1858, the subject was revived by Government, and Colonel Cotton made a survey on the assumption that not one-tenth of the present traffic could bear the expense of land carriage, that a canal one hundred and twenty yards broad and three deep, would greatly reduce the cost, besides furnishing irrigation to six millions acres, and to Calcutta fresh water and water power. The Ganges' discharge at Rajmahal, at its lowest, is 6,000,000 cubic yards per hour. He proposed to erect at Rajmahal a stone weir across the Ganges, twelve or fifteen feet above the summer level, with locks in it, to transmit the river traffic through Murshidabad, Kishnagur, Santipur. The current would be $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile an hour.

Malda is connected with Rajmahal by a steamer which plies twice a day, between Rajmahal, and the Malda Ghat. Malda was famous last century, when those princely merchants, the Commercial Residents made it their abode, for providing the East India Company with silk and cotton. Malda is close to Gaur; but of Gaur, owing to Moslem plundering little remains. Rajmahal, Malda and Murshidabad have, for centuries, been supplied with building materials from it: now it is famous for its mosquitos and tigers. The best account of Gaur is by W. Creighton, who was employed as an Indigo Planter by C. Grant, from 1786 to 1807, and has left a description of it, published in 1817, with eighteen views and a topographical map. We insert a few memoranda of objects to be seen. Gaur, with its suburbs was nineteen miles long, by one and a half broad. Its river embankments were thirty feet high and one hundred and fifty broad; they had buildings on the top, were pierced by gateways forty feet high, opening on causeways paved with bricks. The *Fort* was one mile long, by half a mile broad. The *Sagur tank* runs one mile long by half a mile broad. The *Sona Masjid*, lined with black marble was one hundred and seventy feet long, by seventy-six broad, its four aisles covered by forty-four domes.—*Feroz Shah's* Tower,

ninety feet high, and twenty-one in diameter erected three centuries ago.—The *Dakhil gate*, forty-eight feet high, built A. D. 1466.—*Shah Husain's tomb*, the walls of which were cased with bricks, curiously carved and beautifully glazed blue and white; the best were removed for works in Fort William eighty or ninety years ago.—The *Painted Mosque*; its walls were cased inside and out with glazed bricks wrought in different patterns, colored white, green and blue, built A. D. 1475.—*Kadam Rasul*, built A. D. 1530, visited by pilgrims, to see the stone bearing the impression made by Muhammed's feet. It was brought from Mecca.

Gaur, according to Dow, was the capital of Bengal B. C. 750. We should like to see the data for this. It was more central for Behar and Bengal than Calcutta is, being near the heads of the rivers, which were then deeper than now.

We find that between A. D. 754 and A. D. 785, Gajanta ruled at Gaur which was an independent kingdom. He was the last of Adisur's dynasty, which was succeeded by the *Pál* Rajas who ruled over Dinajpur, Kuch Behar, Kamarup, extending their empire to Orissa and the Vindya hills—they were Buddhists: their dynasty ceased A. D. 1040, with Mahmud of Gizni's invasion, who had first taken Kanauj to which their dominion extended. A branch of those *Páls* ruled over Gwalior. The Vaidya succeeded the *Pál*. Lakshman Sen, who ruled from A. D. 1077 to A. D. 1114, was a great conqueror; Nepal and Oude fell under him. One of his successors removed the seat of Government to Nuddea to be at a greater distance from the Musalmans, but in A. D. 1200 Nuddea was taken by the Moslems.

A little beyond Rajmahal we come to the frontiers of the land of *Bahar*, which 2,300 years ago rose in revolt against the Brahminical priesthood and caste, and held for seven centuries the ascendancy in India, until fire and sword wielded by Brahmans drove the Buddhists out; but persecution did not extinguish them. Their proselytizing energy spread their system in Kabul, China, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Tibet, and they have now the greatest number of followers of any religion on the face of the earth.*

* Many seeing the firm root Hinduism has taken in Bengal, fancy that Christianity cannot be introduced; but the name Gaur suggests to us, that the last Hindu dynasty that ruled in Gaur the *Pál* Rajas, were Buddhists, and Hinduism was at such a low ebb, that Adisur, King of Gaur, a Hindu by religion, was obliged to import Hindu priests from Kanauj:—the Brahmans of Bengal have only been six centuries settled in Bengal.

The moslem rulers of Gaur were great and powerful, but there is little recorded of them except their wars and the frequent changes of rulers through assassi-

The geological formation of the Rajmahal hills consists of successive layers of lava and basalt, with intercalated sedimentary deposits of sand and clay, and indurated ash, sandstone and shale, full of vegetable remains of five or six successive deposits, with volcanic rocks intervening, the whole rests on detached bases of the coal bearing rocks, and on gneiss, which are seen along the Western scarp: along the Eastern flats, near the hills, laterite or ironstone is abundant as also conglomerates. The age of the groups appears to be the same with the oolitic formation of Europe: trap of various structure and mineral character is poured over those rocks, including both columnar basalt, clay stone, crystalline, trap and pumice. It is curious to see how the molten matter, coming in contact with the upper beds of the stratified rocks, has indurated and vitrified them to an intense hardness. A report on the Geology of these Hills will shortly be published by Professor Oldham.

Not more memorable, last century, was Hounslow Heath for highwaymen or the Pentland Hills for Rob Roy's followers, than were the Northern fronts of the Rajmahal hills for the Pahari Robbers, who, descending from their mountain eyries plundered all defenceless travellers. Woe to the traveller whose boat had to lie to for a night near Colgong last century. We have traces of the dread of this all along in the ranges of forts, which extended from Rajmahal to Bhagulpur. the latter place then received its name, from being a city of refuge from hill banditti. Sahabganj had one of these forts; near it many Buddhist-Hindu images have been found. Telliagury was another, and it commanded the road to Rajmahal. Could we, after the manner of Sir W. Scott, call up the past, those hills could tell of many raids between the hill chiefs and the Moslem or Hindu rulers of the plains. Rajmahal, Bhagulpur and Monghyr, in consequence, were made great military stations to serve as a check on them. On the fall of the Moslem power the chiefs made constant raids on the plains; Captains Browne and Burke were employed for several years against them, but the allowance of a money grant, and mild means effected, under Cleveland's auspices, what the sword could not do; he ruled that petty disputes were to be settled by themselves, but that parties convict-

nation. They had little security for their lives or government. Pirs or Saints ruled them, and they shewed no quarter to Hindus: conversion or expulsion was the rule. They had not the tolerant spirit of the Moguls, and the people they had to deal with, Bengalis, had no courage to resist. The number of Pir-sthans or monuments of saints in Dinajpur, erected on the ruins of Hindu temples shew their power. The Hindus in Bahar expelled the Buddhists, and the same measure was meted to them again by the Moslem.

ed of capital crimes were to be punished by the English judges.

The people on these hills, 'the Gaels of Asia' differ from the Santals in race, manners, language and tradition, and neither eat nor intermarry with them: they live in their eyries on the hill tops. Their faces are oval, their noses seldom arched. They are fond of drink, but good humoured in their cups: at a party one person helps all the rest to liquor, as no man could rely on the moderation of his appetite; their chief food is maize, and they worship a so-called god of that plant: they eat beef and drink beer, which other tribes do not. Their Government is patriarchal. Every family has some land, which is the property of the cultivators.

For ages they were untamed thieves and murderers, engaged in forays on the plains; while the Musalman Zemindars in reprisal shot them as dogs. Cleveland on becoming Collector of Bhagulpur, in 1779, adopted a policy of conciliation: he forbade the Zemindars, who were often the aggressors to attack them; he employed them in a militia corps,* established bazars among them for the sale of the honey, wax, and hides which their hills produced; he gave them tax-free lands to cultivate wheat and barley on; he made shooting excursions with them into the hills, feasted their families, and pensioned the chiefs.†—Sons of the hill-men are now being educated at the Church mission school Bhagulpur; they generally become Sipahis.‡ The Hill men, like the Red men, however are gradually fading away—not before the White man, but before the Santal, whose superior industry has not only reclaimed the plains, but is also enabling him to creep up the hills.

Through the liberality of Government we have obtained access to all the M.S. correspondence extant between Cleveland and the authorities particularly Warren Hastings, who fully sympathised with Cleveland's views. The first letter from Cleveland to Warren Hastings§ is dated Bhagulpur, November

* In Cleveland's time the corps amounted to 1,300, and were armed with the bow and arrow for a time: their native commandant was one Jowral, the Rob Roy of the hills, and he proved most active against his fellow-countrymen.

† Of the hills, while Santals occupy the valleys.

‡ On Cleveland's death, all his plans for teaching simple manufactures, providing them with implements of husbandry and seeds, were dropped. Colonel Shaw took some interest in them in 1787. Lord Hastings, too, while on a visit here, ordered them implements of husbandry and potato seed, but his orders were neglected.

§ W. Hastings was the first European in Bengal who conciliated natives by his interest in their studies and patronage of their literature; he urged Wilkins to bring out Bengali types in 1778, when the latter became at one and the same time metallurgist, engraver, founder, printer.

1779, in which month he was appointed Collector on a salary of 150 Rupees monthly; He says 'the success which has hitherto attended my endeavors to regulate the Hill Chokeybunder, and the means I have used to bring down the hill chiefs, have succeeded as much beyond my own expectations, as the good effects already experienced from them have equally astonished, and satisfied the minds of the low country inhabitants. The Gauts and Chokeys of the Northern Range of Hills extending from Sacragully to Shahabad are now entirely completed. The Western Range from Shahabad to within two coss of Jumnee is also settled very much to my satisfaction; and I shall complete the remainder of this Range to the southward, at the back of Sul-tanabad and running down close upon the Beerbhoom Boudary, being by much the most troublesome and uncivilized part of the whole country, as soon as I can, prevail on the hill chiefs and Gautwalls to come in and submit to me.' He mentions his agreement with the plan proposed by the hill chiefs, at a feast given to them by him at Rajmahal in April 1779, viz. of having the whole range of hills under one authority and system. He remarks on this, 'unless the whole range of hills are put under one authority, and the same system of governing them adopted throughout, all the pains I am taking to put them in my own district on a proper footing, (particularly those to the southward of the Eastern and Western Ranges, the one joining with Ammar and the other running close upon the back of Sultanabad,) will be in vain, as I am myself thoroughly convinced that all the inhabitants of the hills may in a short time be induced to submit. As a proof of which, within these nine months, I have had the most flattering experience of the good effects to be expected from the system I have adopted, no less than forty-seven hill chiefs and all their adherents having voluntarily submitted to me and taken an oath of allegiance to Government during that time, and I make no doubt, if the same system continues to be adopted, there is not a chief in that vast extent of country who will not gladly renounce his hitherto precarious and desperate way of life, for the ease and comforts he will enjoy, in being obedient to, and under the protection of a mild and regular Government. They have never yet been fairly put to the test how far their dispositions may incline them to be upon good terms with us. We have till lately considered them as enemies, and they have been treated accordingly. It is but consonant with our own principles of Justice and Humanity, to use every means in our power to avoid a state of warfare; why should they be denied to this

‘unfortunate people? I must do those who have submitted the justice to say—and I call all the inhabitants of this country in general to witness, that the hill people have not, for many years been so quiet as they have been for these last eight or nine months, except, as I before mentioned, near the boundary of Ammar.’

In March Mr. Cleveland writes to Warren Hastings that Rupnarin is so on the watch, that there is little chance of taking him; and recommends the withdrawing three companies of sepoy from Chandan to Chukyea, the Jangelerry being perfectly quiet, excepting Sultanabad, where Morar Sing of Jummi was roving about with several armed followers, though he had seven eighths of the revenue of Jummi allotted to him for keeping up chokeys near the hills, for the good government of which he was considered responsible. Mr. Cleveland wishes his Táluk to be resumed, and ‘to re-establish the chokeys in the same manner as has been adopted in the other districts, by loans from Government without interest, the repayment of which will be sufficiently secured on the resumption of the Talook.’

In a letter, dated April 21st 1780, from Sikrigully, Mr. Cleveland states the whole of his plans about the hill people; we give them in extenso as a precious historical document:—

‘Having for some days past been employed in receiving visits from the hill chiefs, in the several Pergunnahs under my authority, and having feasted them and given them the usual presents suitable to their rank, it is with singular pleasure I have the honor to acquaint the Board, that their behaviour, their proposals to me, and their ready compliance with some I made to them in return, have given me the greatest satisfaction, and I flatter myself will equally ensure your approbation.

‘These people in general, are now become so sensible of the advantages to be derived from a firm attachment and submission to Government, that many of them have not scrupled to declare, they would for ever renounce all unlawful practices of robbery, murders, and devastations, if Government would point out and secure to them the means of subsistence, the want of which has frequently obliged them to commit acts, they seem to have some idea, are not only improper but inhuman. This naturally led into a proposal which I have long had in meditation, and is grounded on the following principles. The inhabitants of the hills have in fact no property, a mere subsistence is all they seem to require, to obtain which the means appear as a secondary consideration. The first question that occurs therefore is, whether it is for the interest of Government to supply the means of subsistence for a certain time, or to suffer the inhabitants of the hills to commit devastations on the country, as they have done for many years past. Certainly the former. For although the losses which Government has experienced in its receipts of revenue on this account, have in fact been trifling, owing to the rigid observance of the engagements entered into with the Zemindars and Farmers, yet the sufferings of the low country inhabitants during the hill insurrections are not to be described. To make friends therefore with the hill chiefs is with all due submission an object worthy the attention of Government. In the memory of the

oldest inhabitants they never expressed themselves so earnestly for an accommodation as at present.

'The disbursement, and of course the circulation of money in the hills by Government, appears to me the most likely bait to ensure the attachment of the chiefs, and at the same time nothing will be so conducive to the civilization of the inhabitants as to employ a number of them in our service.

'On these principles I have taken the liberty to make the following proposals, which the hill people have cheerfully agreed to, provided they meet with your approbation. 1st, that each Manjei or chief estimated at about four hundred, shall furnish one or more men as may be required, to be incorporated into corps of archers. 2nd That a chief shall be appointed to every fifty men, and shall be accountable for the good behaviour of their respective divisions in the corps. 3rd That the corps for the present shall act immediately under the orders of the Collector of Boglipore, and to be employed in his districts only. 4th That the enemies of Government are to be considered as enemies by the hill people, and that it shall be expressly and particularly the duty of the corps to bring all refractory hill chiefs and gautwalls to terms, or to expel them from their country, and treat them as enemies wherever they may be found. 5th That each hill chief commanding a division in the corps shall have an allowance of 5 rs. per mensem, the common people 3 rs.; and effectually to secure the Manjeys or chiefs of the several hills, in a firm attachment to Government, each chief supplying a common man for the corps, shall receive a monthly allowance of 2 rs. subject however to such restrictions as may be thought necessary in case of misbehaviour. 6th That each man in the corps shall have 2 turbans, 2 cummerbunds 2 shirts, 2 pairs of jungheas and a purpet jacket annually.

'The two latter proposals, I have not yet made, having informed the chiefs in general terms only, that if the plan meets with your approbation, they shall have no reason to complain of their allowances.

'I now take the liberty of proposing that one man be immediately entertained from each hill, and a chief appointed by themselves for the present to every fifty men.

The expense at this rate will be nearly as follows, agreeable to the 5th and 6th articles of my proposal:—

8 Chiefs commanding divisions in the corps,	@ 5 Rs.	40
400 Common Hill people,	3 "	1,200
400 Chiefs (not in the corps) supplying the above, ..	2 "	800
		<hr/>
	per mensem	2,040
		12
		<hr/>
		24480
16 Turbans &c. annually, agreeable to the 6th article,	} "	160
for the Chiefs in the corps, @ 10 Rs.		
800 • ditto for common people,	6 "	4800
		<hr/>
Total annual expense		29,440

The cloth for jackets to be supplied from the Company's warehouse in Calcutta.

'I confess gentlemen, the sum of Rupees 29,440 annually, appears to be an enormous disbursement, where no apparent advantage to the Hon'ble Company's Revenue, is likely to be immediately derived from it. The object,

however, will, I flatter myself, appear to you in a more extensive light, and when you consider the comfort you will, in all human probability, administer to a race of people hitherto little better than savages, who will in a course of time, become useful members to the community in the very heart of your dominions, these,—and the confidence which the inhabitants of the adjacent countries will have in their village and hereditary possessions, no longer apprehensive of continued devastation and murders—will I trust be at least sufficient inducement for you to give my proposal a due consideration. And any alterations and exceptions, which in your wisdom you may think fit to make, will, I have not the least doubt, be cheerfully subscribed to by the hill chiefs. The expense however as the inhabitants become civilized, may in a great measure be suspended, as they will no doubt find the same means of supporting themselves, that people of the same class, have done in other countries by emigration or proper attention to the cultivation of their own lands.*

In order to comply with W. Hastings' order to apprehend Rupnarain Das, the Zemindar of Chanderry, who was attacking the Bhagulpur and Gurruckpur Pergunnahs, Captain Browne gave him three light companies of Sepoys for the purpose. Two years before the Jungleterry was placed under the Collectorate of Bhagulpur, and Mr. Cleveland dwells on the importance of that measure. 'The services for which a military force could have been required here, when the Jungleterry was under Captain Browne, must in a great measure have arisen from disturbances in those Districts, and he was then certainly the best judge, what was necessary to be done to secure the country from degradation. But now the case is very different, the whole is under my authority, and unless I have the immediate knowledge and direction of every military operation as well as civil transaction, I cannot pursue, with any degree of confidence, or spirits, such plans as may to me appear necessary to be adopted, lest I should be counteracted therein by any different process, which in Captain Browne's opinion might be more advisable for the public good.' Rupnarain kept himself closely concealed in Turi Fort Birbhun* Jungleterry. Cleveland deprecates any general attack on these grounds. 'We have already had sufficient experience of our incapacity to trace these people through their jungles, with any probability of success against their persons. Their country may be destroyed it is true, but whilst we are employed in doing this, and hunting one party from place to place, another is at the same time taking ample revenge by plundering and setting fire to the villages, in the more civilized and cultivated parts of the country. I will use my endeavours to put the country on such a footing as will make it for the advantage of the chiefs

* It held out against Capt. Brooke in 1773 a long time until cannon were brought against it..

‘and gautwalls to continue obedient, and properly affected to our Government. Orders were sent to the Birbhūm Raja about it.’

The Board of Revenue in August 1780, sanctioned allowances of 550 Rs. monthly, as an encouragement for the future good behaviour of the chiefs, they being bound under penalty of a suspension of their allowances, to be accountable for the good order, and management of their respective districts.

In September 1780, Mr. Cleveland writes from Monghyr, ‘the chiefs of the Northern hills agreed, but those to the Southward, whose hills lie contiguous to the Pergunnahs of Ammar and Sultanabad, absolutely refused to accept any allowances, on the terms prescribed, alleging as a reason, that they could not be answerable for the conduct of their neighbours, and as they had often since the commencement of my arrangements, given proofs of their refractory dispositions, without expressing the smallest inclination to surrender themselves to Government, they would now become every day more incensed against my division, and would plunder and destroy the villages in it, with re-doubled fury; their motives for this, I understand would be to compel the chiefs under my authority to renounce their allegiance, which they might easily be induced to do, rather than become accountable for disturbances, which it would not be in my power to assist them in preventing, and as they have an idea that as long as any part of my division remains unsettled, chastisement would be entirely suspended, or equally divided, whereas if otherwise, the whole blame would fall inevitably on them in case of disturbances, they conceive that a persevering refractory conduct, would have the end desired. For these reasons the chiefs in question decline to accept the allowances, unless similar arrangements take place in Ammar and Sultanabad, and the chiefs and deputies there are bound by the same penalties, to be answerable for the good order and management of their respective districts.’

Mr. Cleveland’s remedy was to annex the Pergunnahs of Ammar and Sultanabad to his authority: he adds; ‘I have been further induced to say thus much on the subject, in consequence of the very flattering approbation, my plans, in general, had the honor to meet with from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. in several conversations I had with him on his way, both up and down the country. And my proposal for raising a corps of archers, as represented in my address of 21st April, was particularly approved of by him. I have taken the liberty of recalling your attention to this circumstance also, being persuaded of the good effects, it will have in bringing the hill inhabitants to a speedy state of civilization, add to which the

‘ great service they may be of in Military operations, at a future period.’ In February 1781, he writes from Sultanabad of having enlisted the hill men, and ‘ so well pleased are the Mountaineers in general with the service proffered to them, that my only difficulty now, is to frame excuses for not entertaining more than the prescribed number. ‘ I shall do myself the honor of laying a full account of my proceedings and negotiations before you, as soon as I can possibly collect them together. In the mean time I have the satisfaction to observe, that my success has exceeded my most sanguine expectations. I flatter myself there will not again be any cause of complaint from the people of the low country, on account of insurrections or depredations of the Mountaineers, as long as a proper attention is paid to the regulations which have been lately adopted.’ He wished Beelputtah near Sultanabad, to be annexed. . .

In December 1782, Mr. Cleveland writes from Bhagulpur to Warren Hastings, that Rupnarain is considerably in arrears of the tribute of his Gatwali of Chandoory held by a Mocurydeen of the Board since 1777. Mr. Cleveland mentions that Rupnarain twice paid his respects to him, when in the district near Chandoory, but was attended by near 500 Matchlock men ; and that he had a long conversation with him, at Junudah, in which he assured him his past offences were forgiven, ‘ having, as I then thought, given him confidence that his former misconduct was forgotten that it might never more be a source of uneasiness to him. It was my wish to have introduced him to the Hon’ble Governor General, on his way down the country, as I had not a doubt but Rupnarain would be flattered, in having the opportunity of paying his respects, to the first member of Government, and that he would certainly be impressed with assurances made to him by such high authority, which it was my intention to have requested of the Governor General, as a confirmation of all I had said. But in this, however, I was disappointed. Rupnarain never came to Boglipore. On my second interview with him, in February last, at Durrampore, I represented the impropriety of his coming to me, with such a train of people, upon which he made an apology, dismissed them all except a few attendants, and afterwards remained in my camp four or five days. But this was in his own district, and I soon found out that his people were within call at the shortest notice. In short whether Rupnarain Das, is under apprehensions of being seized for his former misdeeds, if he comes to Boglipore, or whether he piques himself on never attending at the Sudder Cutcherry of the district, as all other Zemindars and Gautwals do, at least once a year, I cannot pre-

'tend to say, but I trust, gentlemen, at all events, you will see the necessity of taking some decisive measures, either to bring him to reason or to disposses him of his Gautwally altogether * * *. I have only to add on this subject, that unless Rupnarain Das is brought to a proper sense of his duty, or made an example of, the several arrangements which I have hitherto carried on, with so much success, in the Hills, will be materially affected. And as I now consider my own credit as much at stake as the interest of this Government, to accomplish the entire subjection and civilization of the Jungletterry and Hill inhabitants in general, I flatter myself you will do me the honor to repose such confidence in me, as to believe, I neither recommend nor desire any measures to be adopted, which I am not fully convinced will accelerate the accomplishment of the object in view.' Rupnarain in the end complied with Mr. Cleveland's orders.

In February 1783 Mr. Cleveland writes, showing the benefits resulting from employing the Hill rangers, whom he used as the Russians do the Cossacks.—'Some of the Hill Chiefs dependant on the Sultanabad Zemindar, having lately committed some disturbances in Radshai, and having plundered some villages in that district, of about 100 head of cattle, I was under the necessity of detaching four companies, from the corps of Hill Archers and fifty Militia Sepoys, under the command of Jourah, commandant, about fifteen days ago, to apprehend the Chiefs concerned in this revolt. It is with much satisfaction I have the honour to inform you that the commandant has laid hold of all the people, I sent him after, and is now on his return to Boglipore with the detachment and prisoners, the latter of whom will be regularly tried, as soon as I can assemble the Hill people for that purpose.

'Having strong suspicions that the Hill Chiefs have been instigated to this revolt by the Ranny Sirbisserry, the Zemindar of Sultanabad, I have thought it necessary to bring the Ranny and her Duan to this place, where they are under restraint. The result of the trial I shall do myself the honor to inform you of; and if in the course of it, any thing be proved against the Ranny, I am of opinion, it will be necessary to inflict some exemplary punishment upon her, to prevent any thing of the kind in future. * * *. Since the establishment of the corps of Hill Archers, this is the third time I have had occasion to employ them against their brethren. And as they have always succeeded in the business, they have been sent upon, I flatter myself the Honorable Board will not only be convinced of the utility, and attachment of the corps, but that they will have full

‘ confidence in the general system, which I have adopted for the management of this wild and extensive country.

‘ As Jourah Commandant was the first inhabitant of the hills who entered into the service of Government, and he has uniformly conducted himself with propriety, and very much to my satisfaction, I shall be happy if it meets with the Honorable Board’s concurrence to honor him with some reward as a mark of their approbation. In a pecuniary way, an addition of 10 Rs. per mensem to his pay of 20 will make his income handsome, and no doubt be satisfactory to him, as an honorable reward for his services and attachment. I take the liberty of requesting your permission, to give a jaghire of about 400 begas of land to the first son he has born in the Hill Archer’s cantonment. I recommend the jaghire being given to his son, because I think it will be the most agreeable way of rewarding him; and there is little doubt of his having one, as he has no less than four wives, two of whom are now at this place pregnant and will both lie in within the next two months.’

In March 1783 in a letter from Bhagulpur Mr. Cleveland gives an account of his plan for trying offences by the hill chiefs themselves.

‘ I had the honor to inform you in my address of the 14th ultimo, that the detachment which I had sent into the hills against some refractory chiefs was then on its return with several prisoners. I have now to acquaint you that an assembly of the hill chiefs was held here from the 28th ultimo. to the 1st. instant when 17 prisoners were brought before them for trial, viz.

Roopal Alangery of Kiles Hill	} Charged with sundry robberies and rebellion, being taken prisoners in arms against the corps of Hill Archers.
Chumral Durway of ditto	.. ..
Singhri of ditto	.. ..
Bundral Mangey of Duwory...	.. ..
Durie of Daldully	.. ..
Dulro of ditto	

Singha Mangey of Buskea	} The first a Jemadar and the two latter Sepoys in the corps of Hill Archers, charged with a robbery in Radshai when on leave of absence.
Party of Chowdar	.. ..
Mungut of ditto	.. ..

Lutchoo Mangey of Nidgir	} Charged with sundry robberies in Radshai.
Dermal Mangey of Jumney	.. ..
Buskal Mangey of DunnearKhord	.. ..
Ganshey of Chowdar	.. ..
Budderreal of Buskia	.. ..

Cawn Mangey of Chowdar	} Charged with employing his people in sundry robberies, and for several acts of rebellion.
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Rial of Dowo ... } Charged with a robbery in
 Pundoo of ditto ... } Radshai,

of whom the 8 following were found guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, and were ordered to be hanged, viz. Roopal, Chumral Durway, Bunderal, Singha, Dermal, Buskal, Ganshey and Cawn.

'The remainder of the prisoners were ordered to be kept in confinement, until they could give me sufficient security for their future good behaviour.

'I have accordingly approved the proceedings of the assembly, and except Chumral Durway, whom I have judged it necessary to retain for the present, the prisoners ordered to be hanged were executed this morning in the presence of the corps of Hill Archers, the chiefs and several thousand inhabitants of the hills.'

'I have the pleasure to inform the Honorable Board, that this assembly was held and conducted with uncommon solemnity, and I have the satisfaction to observe throughout the whole of their proceedings that strict justice was done to every prisoner without the smallest partiality, for or against any of them.

During the course of the trials several of the prisoners alleged in their defence, that they had been instigated to commit robberies by the Ranny Serbisserry the zemindar of Sultanabad; but the Ranny who was brought before the assembly in a covered Dooly denied the charges, and the prisoners had nothing further to allege against her, than that they had been informed by Poosal, Dermal and Tekol, three other Mangeys, that the Ranny had sent them the usual allowance of provisions on such occasion, and orders to plunder by two of her agents, Currem Mundal and Nermah, both inhabitants of Sultanabad; also that Curreem Mundal had received from Poosal, twelve buffaloes being the Ranny's share of the plunder.

The charges at present exhibited against the Ranny are certainly not sufficiently proved to proceed against her. As I have a strong suspicion however that they are founded on truth, I have summoned Curreem Mundal, Nermah and the afore-mentioned Mangeys all of whom shall be strictly examined, and I will then do myself the honor to lay before you their several depositions. Lohanny Sing and Jaboo Roy two inhabitants of Cooherpertub in Radshai, have also been accused by some of the prisoners as the instigators to their robberies, and of having received a portion of the plunder, all which I have too much reason to believe, from the general bad character of the men, and from some circumstances of Lohanny Sing's conduct, which I had occasion to represent in July last to the Committee. I have therefore taken upon me to send people to endeavour to apprehend these men, as I am convinced they would pay no attention to a regular summons. I thought it necessary to reprove Chumral Durway as he acknowledges to have had a kind of partnership with Lohanny Sing, in several robberies for many years past, and he promises to prove all he had advanced.

'I flatter myself my proceedings on this occasion will be honored with your approbation.'

In a letter from Rajmahal, March 1783, Mr. Cleveland writes about the implication of Ranny Sarbasarri Sing, in several robberies. He states '1st, That Curreem Mundal, with his servant Nermah, went into the hills in the month of Sarvon last with a large quantity of rice, salt and tobacco which he distributed to Poosah and other Mangeys, for cattle they were to plunder from the Beerbhoom villages, and to give in exchange, telling them at

'the same time that the grain, &c. was the property of the Sircar
 ' (meaning the Ranny) and that the Mangeys would be exculpated
 ' should any notice be hereafter taken of their conduct. 2nd
 ' That Poosah Mangey accordingly plundered the village of Run-
 ' gong in Beerboom, of 30 buffaloes, and about ten days after he
 ' had received the grain, &c. he delivered the buffaloes to Curreem
 ' Mundal on his own account, and 3 more into his charge to be
 ' conveyed to the Ranny, as her share of the plunder. 2nd That
 ' Poosah Mangey sold the remaining 16 Buffaloes, to different
 ' Ryots in Sultanabad. 4th That Curreem Mundal conveyed the
 ' 3 Buffaloes aforesaid to the Ranny, that she expressed great dis-
 ' satisfaction on the occasion, and would not receive them, in con-
 ' sequence of which they were ordered to be returned; but Poosah
 ' Mangey denies ever having received them back again. Although
 ' I cannot ascertain that Ranny did actually return her proportion
 ' of plunder, yet from the prevarication of the evidence and the
 ' Ranny's own account of the transaction, I have strong reasons
 ' for believing she was more deeply concerned in the business than
 ' really appears. Admitting, however, that the Ranny did not
 ' receive the cattle, nor was in any respect concerned in Curreem
 ' Mundal's transactions with the hill people, it was certainly her
 ' duty as zemindar of the Purgunnah, to have informed me of any
 ' particular circumstance relative thereto, that Poosah Mangey,
 ' and Curreem Mundal might have been called to an account for
 ' their behaviour. The Ranny, however, never once addressed me
 ' on this subject. I think therefore she is highly culpable, and
 ' as her conduct renders her on every account a proper object for
 ' an example, which is become absolutely necessary, to put a stop
 ' to the connivance hitherto carried on by the zemindars of one
 ' district, at the depredation of the hill people on the inhabitants
 ' of their neighbours, I take the liberty of submitting to the
 ' Board's consideration the good effects that may be expected from
 ' dispossessing the Ranny of her zemindary, a measure I am in-
 ' duced to recommend in the strongest manner, from a conviction
 ' of the necessity of it. As the Ranny has heirs or near relations,
 ' the person whom the Honorable Board may think proper to ap-
 ' point her successor, should be obliged to give her such a main-
 ' tenance as may be judged proper during her life time. And in
 ' order to destroy effectually any influence the Ranny might retain
 ' in the Purgunnah or hills notwithstanding her dispossession, I
 ' recommend that she should not be allowed to reside in or near
 ' Sultanabad on any account whatever. Curreem Mundal and
 ' Nermah I have delivered over for trial to the Phousdary court.'
 He makes one very important remark showing that the hill
 people were tempted often to plunder the low country people,
 ' that until some of the inhabitants of the low country, who

' carry on the illicit and destructive traffic with the hill people;
' are made severe examples of, it will avail little to punish the
' hill people for plundering, as they are generally employed in
' this service by the Gautwalls and Zemindary officers, who frighten
' them into a compliance by threatening to expose the whole of
' their former conduct. In short, Gentlemen, I am sorry to say
' that it has hitherto been almost a general custom with the low
' country inhabitants of Sultanabad, Radshai and Beerbhoom to
' employ the hill people in plundering each other's villages. And
' almost every man has been so deeply concerned, that even the
' sufferers have been afraid to complain, lest their iniquitous prac-
' tices should be brought to light.' In July of the same year Mr.
Cleveland represents, that he could do nothing with Rupnarain,
who aimed at independence. Mr. Cleveland writes in the last
of his letters that we have, July 29, 1783, that he must be re-
moved from the country, as his father Jugarnath had required
2,000 troops to be brought against him.

Such is all we have extant of the career of a man, who, in epic
days, would have been exalted from a hero to an object of worship.

We now bring our article to a close, and trust *that* we have
shewn that not a little interest belongs to Rajmahal and its histo-
rical associations.* We give as a specimen of the Rajmahal hill
language, a translation of the Lord's Prayer.

O mergh no doku Aba ninki namith pak menan deth ninki
rajeth barándeth ninki mareth merghno menith arovehi qeqlnó
hon menandeth inti lapen eme qata auro jesa em em bahano
elurin mǎp nanim árovehi nin enki elen mǎp nana auro emen
takyoma pare dagráhante bachatra indrain ki ninki rajeth bareth
auro simajarethjugek behith. Amin.

* With reference to several remarks made in the above article as to the conduct
of Europeans towards the natives, we quote with pleasure a few lines from the
' Friend of India,' May 2nd 1861, (page 483).

' The rail runs for nearly 200 miles through the Sonthal Pergunnas, Bhagul-
' pore and Monghyr, and the number of Europeans employed on that length has
' varied from one to three hundred; but, during the past five years, not more
' than four serious cases occurred, between Christian officers of the rail on
' one side and natives, in or out of their employ, on the other. One of these
' cases was a homicide in which the offender was acquitted in the Supreme Court;
' and two were cases of assault, both committed by the same individual, not an
' Englishman. Mr. Yule says—"I never heard of a charge against the higher
' " officers of the rail, and it is wonderful, I think, that there was so few against
' " those in subordinate positions, who were often fresh from home and located far
' " from control. I exclude petty cases of all kinds, and maltreatment of native
' " by native; but even these were anything but numerous. As to money matters
' " the natives seldom complained, and seldom indeed had cause to do so. If
' " they were not treated with justice and kindness, do you think they would
' " swarm to the rail as they do?" And yet, with these facts before them, there
' is a large class of officials and missionaries who would exclude the educated
' European from India lest the native be oppressed.'

Traffic of the three Railways compared.

Year ending 30th June.	No. of Miles.	Railway.	No. OF PASSENGERS.				Tonnage of Goods.	Receipts from Passengers.	Receipts from Goods.	Total Receipts.	Working Ex- penses.	Net Profits.*
			1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Total.						
1853-54	35	Great Indian Peninsula, ...	11,780	62,217	461,198	535,195	23	£ 13,047	£ 604	£ 14,251	£ 7,139	£ 7,122
1854-55	156	{ East Indian, 121 } Great Indian Peninsula ... 35 }	15,476	78,708	777,330	851,514	33,803	38,009	10,015	46,024	31,876	14,148
1855-56	209	{ East Indian 121 } Great Indian Peninsula, ... 88 }	16,918	86,153	1,242,801	1,345,872	193,107	68,504	47,118	105,622	45,795	59,827
1856-57	274	{ East Indian, 121 } Great Indian Peninsula, ... 88 } Madras, 65 }	23,001	91,088	1,710,747	1,834,836	250,792	92,723	105,154	197,877	81,596	116,281
1857-58	332	{ East Indian, 121 } Great Indian Peninsula, ... 130 } Madras, 81 }	27,400	90,918	2,012,401	2,180,809	329,063	111,131	150,615	261,746	111,444	150,302
1858-59†	432	{ East Indian, 142 } Great Indian Peninsula, ... 194 } Madras, 86 }	28,973	1,76,836	2,516,588	2,722,362	195,431	157,431	224,994	402,025	187,065	214,960

* It is possible that these amounts may be slightly altered hereafter, as there are certain charges about which there is some doubt as to whether they should be applied to capital or revenue.

† A further section of 35 miles was opened on the Great Indian Peninsula line, just before the end of the year.

The following is the Comparative cost of Railways

NAMES OF STATE.	Year.	Length of Line open.	TOTAL CAPITAL EXPENDED.		RECEIPTS, TRAFFIC.		
				Per Mile of Line open.		Per Mile of Line open.	
		Mile.	£	£	£	£	
Austria,	1856	1,586	25,876,786	16,378	3,461,322	2,190	
Belgium,	1856	445	7,294,783	16,391	960,327	2,158	
France,	1854	2,913	74,772,994	25,668	7,882,666	2,706	
Germany, exclusive of Austria and Prussia,	1855	2,226	20,185,250	13,111	4,042,370	1,816	
Great Britain. { England & Wales, ...	1857	6,706	263,145,238	39,275	20,195,460	3,161	
	{ Scotland,...	1857	1,243	36,084,288	28,225	2,486,890	2,107
	{ Ireland, ...	1857	1,070	16,760,300	15,664	1,139,296	1,091
Holland,	1857	163	3,248,845	19,931	278,619	1,709	
Prussia,	1856	2,503	35,295,043	14,101	4,537,602	1,877	
Sardinia,	1855	234	... ..	.....	338,724	1,477
Spain,	1855	130	... ..	.....	137,028	924
Switzerland,	1856	203	4,037,427	19,888	129,271	636	
Tuscany,	1856	132	2,053,493	15,556	127,536	966	
United States of Ame- rica,	1855	17,481	144,646,953	8,275	18,730,848	1,234	
East Indian,	1858-59	142	1,716,000	12,084	205,587	1,447	
Great Indian Penin- sula,	1858-59	194	1,699,033	8,758	148,496	764	
Madras,	1858-59	96	672,000	7,000	47,942	499	

throughout the world, along with the Indian ones.

WORKING EXPENDITURE.		NET RECEIPTS.		Proportion per cent. of working expenses to receipts.	Proportion per cent., which net Receipts bear to the capital expended.
	Per Mile of Line open.		Per Mile of Line open.		
£	£	£	£		
1,824,120	1,150	1,037,202	1,040	52.70	6.32
560,600	1,260	399,727	898	58.16	5.48
3,469,237	1,191	4,413,439	1,515	44.01	6.58
1,442,928	897	2,599,442	919	49.38	5.70
9,707,498	1,564	10,487,962	1,597	48.00	4.06
1,093,970	941	1,392,920	1,166	44.00	4.13
438,771	465	700,525	626	38.00	3.93
169,837	1,042	108,782	667	60.96	3.35
2,341,005	968	2,196,597	909	51.59	6.22
174,050	744	164,674	703	51.38	.....
67,879	522	69,149	402	56.48	.....
69,273	341	59,998	295	54.28	1.48
58,901	446	68,635	520	46.18	3.34
10,079,149	666	8,701,700	568	54.00	6.70
96,184	677	109,403	770	45.04	7.410
65,491	337	83,005	427	44.1	5.14.0
25,390	264	22,552	234	52.9	2.1.8

ART. VI.—*Scheme for the Amalgamation of the Indian and British Armies, Home News, January 26th, 1861.*

A GREAT event in the history of our country is, while we write, on the eve of accomplishment. Whilst these lines flow from our pen, the scheme resolved on, after so many months of discussion and consideration, by the collective wisdom of three great offices of state, the Horse Guards, the India Office and the Executive Government of India, is receiving at the hands of a specially appointed Commission, that final manipulation which is to fit it for its appearance in the pages of the Calcutta Gazette. To give due solemnity to an occasion big with the fate of many thousands of British Officers, and which is to witness the obsequies of an Army, and its resurrection under a totally new organization, the Commander-in-chief has been summoned from Umballa, and is now present to render the Governor General the invaluable aid of his experience and judgment. A few days more, and the hopes and fears of four long years will be cleared up!

In sober earnest it is a great event we are witnessing, and a spectacle at once grand and touching! We are witnessing the extinction of an army which has existed for more than one hundred years, amidst all the vicissitudes attending the acquisition of a mighty Empire;—which has emblazoned upon its banners the emblems of a hundred battles, and the officers of which have, by their ability, no less in the cabinet than in the field, contributed, in an eminent degree, to build up the reputation which England enjoys in the public opinion of the world. But though in some sense the process now awaiting the Indian Army is that of extinction, the word hardly conveys a true appreciation of the reality. It would be perhaps nearer the mark to compare the impending dissolution of the Indian Army with the case of the titled heiress whose wealth and titles merge, and are lost sight of, in the higher honour, and greater wealth of him to whom she gives her hand;—and just as the offspring of such a pair may be expected to inherit the characteristic virtues of both father and mother, so may we surely anticipate, that the army, which, in the next generation, will proceed from the British and Indian Armies, now to be united, will be worthy of the joint parentage from which it sprung!

It is impossible, however, to mark without deep concern, the attitude in which a great portion of the Indian army is awaiting the official declaration of the scheme, by which their future prospects are to be decided. Whilst few are looking with hope and exultation to the enlarged field of action they see before

them, too many, it may be feared, are regarding the coming arrangements with preconceived suspicion and determined hostility. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, is the motto of these last. They have adopted the idea that they have nothing but coldness and injustice to look for from the detested Horse Guards, and their attitude is that of men, who, come what will, are determined to regard themselves as injured and trampled upon. This is doubtless very deplorable, and every effort of those who have the remotest chance of influencing public opinion, should be directed to the object of placing the impending measure in a just and reasonable light, before the eyes of those whom it is to affect.

Whilst amalgamation, or the separate existence of the two services, was still a debated and open question, it was right that both sides should be heard, and natural, that where personal interests and feelings were concerned, the debate should be carried on with some warmth of temper and even acrimony. But for months the question has been decided, no argument and no cavilling can now affect it. The frigate, so to say, has had to succumb to the superior weight of metal of the line of battle ship. It behoves the crew of the frigate to haul down their colours with a good grace, and instead of meeting their captors with scowling and suspicious glances, to receive them with the frankness which belongs to brave men of the same profession. Surely this is the conduct which good sense prescribes to the officers of the Indian Army, in common with all who suffer under disappointed hopes or defeat. The situation as we view it, and dropping all metaphor, is this. Amalgamation, months ago resolved on, is now on the eve of accomplishment. A scheme for its achievement, approved and ratified by the Sovereign herself, only awaits a few necessary local arrangements before it is brought into operation. No hard words, no black looks, can alter what is to all intents and purposes, an accomplished fact. But the Indian officers have it still in their power to influence very materially, the footing upon which they shall hereafter stand with their future comrades, both of high and low degree. According to the temper in which they accept the inevitable changes will they receive the hearty sympathy and good will of those into whose ranks they are to pass, or an unfriendly and grudging welcome. At present all is smooth and smiling so far as the Duke of Cambridge, and the Army over which he presides, are concerned. We can confidently assure our readers that there is every inclination on the part of the Commander-in-Chief and those he influences, to render justice to the Indian officers, and to welcome them with a soldierly and high minded frankness. Ask those who were present at the Duke of Cambridge's last

levy two months ago, what was his reception of the Indian officers who had the good taste and correct feeling to be present. The very appointment of Lieut. Colonel Norman to be Assistant Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, is an earnest of the Duke of Cambridge's desire to stand on good terms with the officers of the Indian Service, and to act tenderly in regard to their interests. Could we ask a more acceptable appointment than Colonel Norman's to have been made? Had the Army been desired to elect its own representative at the Horse Guards, upon whom would its choice have fallen so unanimously as on Col. Norman? We repeat that Colonel Norman's appointment is at once a compliment to the Indian Service, and a guarantee that their claims will always have kindly consideration. Let those, who are still incredulous of the Duke's disposition toward the Indian officers, turn to the order lately issued by his desire, on the occasion of a number of Indian Officers being attached to do duty with the Royal Artillery at Woolwich. Surely it is the duty of officers, no less than their interest, to consider carefully the possible result to themselves and their comrades, in case, by a surly or hostile reception of an inevitable measure, they incur the risk of chilling and alienating feelings, which they may be assured are, at present, of the kindest and most conciliatory nature.

We write thus, well knowing that any scheme, which it is within the bounds of reasonable expectation, should be offered for the amalgamation of the two Armies, must press hardly on some one or other of the numerous interests involved. How indeed could it be otherwise? Nothing short of the *locus quo ante* would satisfy many, or, indeed, would suffice to place them in as good a position, as regards their future prospects, as they enjoyed before the events of 1857. Shall the new measure therefore be resented because it contains no proviso for reconstituting every mutinied regiment in Bengal and Bombay, and every office and command which the irresistible torrent of the mutiny has swept away? Surely to do so would be utterly unreasonable. Numerous cases of individual hardship must inevitably arise. Those whom they may affect must reconcile themselves to them, by the same reflection which we bring to bear when a drought ruins our crops, or an inundation sweeps away our harvest, or a stroke of lightning sets fire to our house or our hay-ricks. All that can be reasonably expected is, that there shall be no wanton disregard of the interests of the Indian Officers, and that wherever the blow is inevitable, it shall be dealt as gently as possible, and shall be accompanied by every alleviation that circumstances will admit of. But whatever happens we entreat officers to eschew the prejudice which ascribes

beforehand every sort of chicanery and favouritism to the Horse Guards, as a matter of course, and never gives that much abused institution the credit of fair and honest dealing. Was the patronage of the Indian Army administered under the old *regime* so as to give universal satisfaction and contentment? Yet to listen to the language of those hostile to the arrangements which bring them under the power of the Horse Guards, it would be supposed that favouritism and jobbery were the exclusive attributes of the British Commander-in-chief-ship.

Enough is generally known of the forthcoming scheme of amalgamation to justify us in noticing, in some detail, a few of its more salient points, and in endeavouring to form an opinion, as to the bearing the scheme is calculated to have upon the interests at stake. We would ask those who may be willing to follow us in our consideration of the measure, to do so in a spirit, as far as possible, removed from querulousness and prejudice; and to judge of it with a due remembrance of the surpassing difficulties with which its framers have had to contend, and of the imperative necessity which has hampered them, of hitting off the just medium between liberality to individuals, and due regard to the embarrassed state of the public finances.

First let us see how the proposed scheme is likely to affect the European non-commissioned officers, and the rank and file of the Army.

The men of the Artillery, of the Cavalry, and of the existing Infantry regiments of all three Presidencies will be called upon to volunteer for the corresponding branches of the British Army *with a bounty*. It may be reasonably expected that the great majority of the soldiery will accept such an offer without hesitation, and that the non-contents will be few in number. Those who accept, will of course then become liable for service out of India; but it is understood, we believe, that, for the present at least, the new brigades and regiments will continue to be employed exclusively in India. The Artillery volunteers will be formed into additional brigades of Royal Artillery, fourteen in number, according to some accounts; namely, seven for Bengal, four for Madras and three for Bombay. The Cavalry volunteers will receive numbers in continuation of the existing Cavalry regiments, and the Infantry regiments will (if the number of men of each regiment volunteering be sufficiently considerable,) take their places in continuation of the Infantry of the Line, under the designation of the 101st or Royal Bengal Fusiliers, the 102nd, or Royal Madras Fusiliers, the 103rd or Royal Bombay Fusiliers, and so on. Each regiment

holding at present any distinctive title, as Fusiliers, or Light Infantry, will retain that designation in addition to the number which may fall to it. The men who decline to volunteer will be formed into local battalions of Artillery and Infantry, probably, for each Presidency, and will serve on in India, with all their present privileges and advantages, until the last man dies, or completes his contracted period of service. When it is added, that under the proposed arrangements for the disposal of the officers of the European troops, (to which we shall come presently,) every regiment will retain the greater portion of its existing officers, enough has been said to prove, we think, that the proposed arrangements contain nothing which should render them unacceptable or distasteful to the European soldiery. There may be secret springs and influences at work in the minds of the soldiers, which it is impossible to fathom beforehand, or anticipate, and which may induce them to look coldly on a scheme which, to the uninitiated spectator appears all that is fair and advantageous. All we can say is that we, as dispassionate lookers on, fail to discover any single point, in which the soldiers can consider themselves aggrieved or their interests tampered with, in the projected amalgamation.

Pass, we now to those points of the scheme which affect the officers.

Two great features in the scheme as it affects the officers must be first prominently stated. One of these is, that whatever Native troops are hereafter kept up will be placed upon the footing of what are called in India, 'Irregulars,' that is to say, the Native Army will revert to the organization which it enjoyed in the earlier days of its existence, and under which all its greatest achievements were wrought; instead of feebly imitating the organization which long experience has prescribed as best suited for European troops, and which led the Court of Directors, more than sixty years ago, to attach, nominally, some thirty English officers to a native regiment, but in reality about half that number, and then to nullify the authority of that half with folios of rules and regulations. It has been determined to revert to the system which invests with nearly absolute authority a single selected officer, and makes him responsible, with the assistance of three or four subordinates only, for the discipline and efficiency of an entire regiment. It would be foreign to the object we now have in view to discuss the long litigated question of 'Regulars *versus* Irregulars.' It is enough that we note at present the fact, that the Irregulars have carried the day in the Amalgamation scheme, and that our Native Army is to consist henceforth solely of troops organized on that system.

The second point which we desire to note prominently, previous to considering that portion of the scheme which affects the European officers, is, that the existing Regimental and General lists of officers are to be carefully preserved, and kept up for reference and guidance, though the troops themselves have either been swept away, as have been the mutinied regiments, or embodied in a new shape, as is to be the European portion of the army. Thus the claims of all officers, not otherwise provided for under the new regulations, (namely, by transfer to the staff corps, or otherwise as the case may be,) to promotion to the superior grades, will still admit of easy regulation, and the great object held in view of not prejudicing the existing rights of the officers will be carefully ensured. The attention of the reader having been directed to these two preliminary features of the scheme, the way is open to an easier understanding of the measure, in its effects upon the prospects of the European officers of the army.

The most salient feature in the scheme, as it affects the officers, is of course the proposed 'Staff Corps.' It is understood that every officer (including officers of the Royal Army,) now employed *otherwise than regimentally*, will have the option of enrolling himself in the Staff Corps, without examination or probation of any kind. Twelve years' service in the Army, of which four in a staff situation, will entitle officers electing for the Staff Corps now, or entering it hereafter, to receive the substantive rank of Captain. Twenty years' service, of which six in a staff situation, will similarly entitle to the substantive rank of Major: twenty-six years', of which eight in a staff situation, to that of Lieutenant Colonel. But as these periods of service would entitle some officers to receive *two* steps of promotion on entering the Staff Corps, the scheme contains a proviso, that in such cases the *second* step shall not be attained for two years after the first. An illustration will serve to elucidate the working of the latter arrangement. A, an Officer electing for the Staff Corps, is Captain (regimental) of twenty six years' service, of which (say) eight on the staff. He will enter the Staff Corps as Major, and will not obtain the further grade of Lieutenant Colonel until two years later. We have heard, on good authority, that this proviso was inserted at the special instigation of the India Council, in opposition to the wish of the Duke of Cambridge, who would have given the officer, situated as in the above example, the immediate benefit of the double step.

Officers extra-regimentally employed at the promulgation of the scheme, will not however be compelled to enrol themselves in the Staff Corps. They will have the option of

taking their chance of promotion in their present regiments, in case that course should appear to them more advantageous than accepting the substantive promotion offered in the Staff Corps. In this case, they will not forfeit their appointments, but may retain them irrespectively, in most cases, of the regimental rank they may attain to. For example, suppose A, a Captain of fifteen years' service, on staff employ, is second Captain in his regiment, and has reason to believe, that the senior Captain and Major are only waiting until they have served the requisite number of years, to retire on their pension:—if A, enters the Staff Corps, he knows that he has five years to serve before he will be entitled to the substantive rank of Major, whereas, by refusing the Staff Corps, and retaining the advantages of regimental promotion, he may be a Major (say) in one year. Obviously it is for A's interest, as far as promotion is concerned, to refuse the Staff Corps, though against speedier promotion he has to place the risk of foregoing departmental promotion on the staff, as in future no appointments will be given except to officers of the Staff Corps.

Such, is the outline of the scheme proposed for the first institution of the Staff Corps. It would be premature to criticize very narrowly a project, the more minute details of which are still imperfectly known to us:—but it is impossible not to be struck with the enormous extension given by the proposed plan to the received and ordinary idea of an Army Staff Corps. A more heterogeneous mass of talent and attainments than its ranks will contain, it is impossible to conceive! The most strictly military, and the most purely civil appointments are to be alike filled by officers drawn from the Staff Corps. Whatever the exigency of the state, it will be supplied without difficulty out of the ranks of this most convenient body. But the doubt arises, whether a body so constituted, one half of the members of which will be permanently employed on duties of the most purely civil nature, can ever hope to retain its military character, or to preserve its status as an army Staff Corps. It seems anomalous that service in a purely civil capacity should be rewarded with increased *military* rank in exactly the same ratio as service of a strictly military character:—that, by different routes, the Deputy Commissioner, and the Commandant of Irregular Cavalry for instance, should both be pressing on to the common goal of high military rank. We submit, that, if the scheme contains no such arrangement already, it will be found necessary hereafter to divide the Staff Corps into a civil and a military branch, and to regulate the promotion of the former by

different rules to those which determine the promotion of the latter.

The Staff Corps will be recruited, it is understood, for the present, partly from the British regiments serving in India, and partly from those Indian officers, who are at the present moment unemployed. Justice, no less than expediency, will demand, that a large share of the early patronage arising from the Staff Corps, should be appropriated to the latter class of officers; who, in the mean time, will, however unwillingly and to their own disadvantage, be drawing their full pay without contributing to the service of the State. As the unemployed Indian officers become, in process of time, absorbed, the Staff Corps will depend entirely upon the British regiments for its supply of recruits. The latter will be chosen, it need not be doubted, by the process of competitive examination; and the first and preliminary qualification will be a certain number of years' service (probably three) in India. Should the candidate succeed in passing the examination, fixed for that branch of the Staff Corps to which he aspires, he will be admitted, for a given period, on probation only. The term of probation satisfactorily passed, he will be struck off the rolls of his regiment and his place filled up. The patronage which will thus be created in the British Army will represent, to a certain extent, the patronage enjoyed by the late Court of Directors, and their successors, the Indian Council.

Such being the scheme for the first creation, and future maintenance of the Staff Corps, we are in a position to form a judgment, as to the effect which the amalgamation is likely to have upon the interests of India, and to decide, whether the mournful anticipations of those of us, who saw in the proposed extinction of the local Army, the ruin of our Indian Empire, are likely to be realized. The great argument, it will be recollected, of those who were opposed to amalgamation, was that the supply of officers, permanently connected with, and interested in the country, would be cut off;—that instead of being able to draw upon an inexhaustible mine of civil and military talent, habituated to the country, skilled in its language, versed in the peculiarities of native habit and ways of thought, and kindly disposed to the Indian races, we should have to fall back upon the unsympathizing element of the young officers of British Line regiments, and to look for our future Clives and Lawrences amongst the rollicking revellers of the mess table! But how much of their force do all these objections, so plausible at the time, lose,—nay, how absolutely puerile do they seem, when viewed by the light of the great and carefully constructed scheme

before us ! How theoretical and fanciful objections and difficulties vanish, when opposed by the quiet strength of a practical measure ? The Staff Corps, as we have seen, commences by enrolling in its ranks every officer at present extra-regimentally employed. To replace the casualties in the new Corps which the efflux of time will cause, we have, first, a very large reserve (alas, that it must be so !) of officers of the Indian service, who, in the first instance, must remain unemployed ;—and, when these have been exhausted, we shall have all the youth and talent of the British Army upon which to draw, to replace casualties, as one by one, and not, be it remembered, by sudden and wholesale cataclysms, they take place. We must have formed a very undue estimate of the advantages offered by employment in the Staff Corps under the new scheme, if they are not great enough to attract an adequate number of competent young British officers to recruit its ranks. But if it be indeed the case that we are mistaken, we feel confident that the career offered by the Staff Corps will attract into the Army a *new class* of officers, who will thankfully avail themselves of the advantages the Staff Corps offers, and be no more deterred by the drawbacks of prolonged banishment from England, and association with the uncongenial races of India, than the class of officers whose successors they will be. Therefore it appears to us, that the anticipated evils of amalgamation must, at all events, be relegated to the next generation, and that, if need be, there will be plenty of time before that, to create a new class of officers, supposing—what is contrary, however, to all present experience,—the existing class of officers to be found in the British regiments should prove unwilling or unfit to enter the ranks of an Indian Staff Corps.

But we must hasten on to notice other salient features of the scheme.

It is known that the officers of the European Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry will receive the option of continuing to serve in their present regiments under the altered condition and designations of the latter, (in which case, of course, they will be eventually liable to serve elsewhere than in India,) or of being transferred to the local battalions of non-contents. The places of any officers of the European forces preferring the latter, as well as of those who may decide to enter the Staff Corps, will be filled up, it is understood, by volunteers from the unemployed Native Infantry Officers. Promotions in the new brigades of Royal Artillery, as well as in the Cavalry and in the new 101st, 102nd, &c. Foot, will continue to be regulated by seniority. Thus the experiment of seniority promotion will have a fair trial in

the Cavalry and Infantry of the British Army, and the result may in the next generation, for anything we can tell, lead to vast modifications in the existing system of purchase, perhaps even to its entire abandonment.

The operation of the amalgamation scheme has yet to be noticed in its bearing on the Engineer corps, and on the Medical Service. Both, it is understood, will be amalgamated with the corresponding branches of the British Army. Both will receive the option of taking their chance of general service elsewhere than in India, or of continuing to serve in India only, with all their existing advantages guaranteed to them. The officers of all arms, who may volunteer for general service, will reckon, as a matter of course, their previous service towards retiring pension; but, henceforth, two years of service out of India will count, it is said, as one only of Indian Service. This is a point upon which we would be understood as reserving any opinion for the present. As we have before had occasion to observe, it is premature to criticize any but the broader features of the scheme, whilst our information as to details is necessarily defective.

Thus far even those most hostile to amalgamation and predetermined to view the scheme unfavourably, must admit that its terms are favourable and liberal. But it cannot be disguised that after the demands of the Staff Corps, and of the European Troops have been supplied, a very large body of officers will remain, whose prospects, as we understand them, are the reverse of brilliant. The officers for whom employment can be found neither in the Staff Corps, nor with the European battalions will be held available for general duty, whenever and wherever required, with the hope perhaps of being able eventually to obtain entrance into the Staff Corps, under the competitive examination, by which admissions into that Corps are in future to be regulated. Amongst these Officers' will be found, in Bengal particularly, many Lieutenant Colonels, who, in the halcyon days of the native army, could calculate almost with certainty on exercising the command of a Native regiment, with the comfortable addition to the pay of their rank which such employment brought. The irresistible torrent of the mutiny has swept away all but an insignificant number of regiments of the Bengal Native Infantry, and their place has been taken by newly-raised irregular regiments to the command of which regimental Lieutenant Colonels are, by the rules of the service, ineligible. Nor would it indeed be either just or politic to displace in their favour, the generally able class of young men, who have raised and hitherto commanded the new

levies, and to supplant the latter by Lieutenant Colonels advanced in life, to whom the Irregular System is equally strange and distasteful. No one, who has the interests of the service at heart, could desire to see the Lieutenant Colonel of the old Native Infantry school, accustomed to rely on the constant support of his regimental Staff, to see nothing but neatly fitting red coats and forage caps, and to regulate discipline by a mild application of the Articles of War, and standing orders for Infantry, transplanted to the uncongenial soil of a regiment of mixed Sikhs and Affghans, with uncouth tongue, non-regulation beards, and unsightly mud-coloured uniform, located—to complete his discomfort,—in one of the houseless camps of the Derajāt Frontier! The subject is not one for jesting, yet we may be pardoned for saying, that the surprize of both officer and men, if they found themselves thus suddenly brought into the relation of commander and commanded, would, probably, be about equally balanced. In the Madras and Bombay Armies and indeed in the few remaining regular regiments of Bengal, the hardship inflicted upon the older officers by amalgamation, and the proposed conversion of regular into irregular regiments, will be less. The Lieutenant Colonels now commanding regular regiments, will probably retain their position, and be trusted to superintend the conversion of their regiments into irregulars. The conversion will doubtless proceed very* gradually, and will perhaps hardly be fully accomplished for eight or ten years to come.

We have naturally considered the case of the elders first, but the case of the unemployed juniors is not a whit less grievous. It may be said, with a certain amount of justice, in the case of the juniors of the Bengal Army, that in the cornucopia of appointments, which has been emptied over their heads since the Mutiny, it is next to impossible that any really deserving men should have failed to secure some sort or other of extra-regimental employment;—that the merit must be hidden indeed which has not had the opportunity of coming to the surface, during the stirring events of the last four years. But it must not be forgotten, that wounds, sickness, and other causes have operated in many instances, during the period in question, to withdraw most deserving men from the field of competition. It would be a reproach, indeed, to those who administer the patronage of the Army and of the country, if, when the new arrangements come into force, some hero of the ridge at Delhi, or of the feeble ramparts of Lucknow, should find himself consigned to the oblivion of an unemployed list, because wounds or sickness may have withdrawn him temporarily from the competitive struggle.

We are confident however that the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief, will avoid all reasonable ground of cavil at the forthcoming scheme of amalgamation, and the obloquy of permitting officers with such unquestionable claims to consideration, to vegetate unemployed under the 'cold shade of neglect.

It is difficult to estimate with anything like exactitude, the probable number of officers for whom employment will not be found under the new scheme. It may be feared, however, that it will be very considerable. When every attempt to provide employment in the ordinary way for all unemployed officers possessed of the requisite capacity has failed, it may well receive the consideration of the government, whether it would not be both fairer to individuals, and more advantageous to the public to purchase out (either by increased pensionary inducement, or by liberal offers of land in Australia or India,) those who will otherwise remain probably for years, a heavy incubus upon the State. We would advocate the early employment, if necessary, of an able actuary to determine this question. What a sum might have been saved to the State, if the purchase out of officers willing to resign their claims on the service, had commenced three years ago!

We must now close this necessarily very imperfect notice of the grand scheme about to be promulgated. With certain drawbacks, which were doubtless inevitable, its provisions appear to us decidedly, as a whole, beneficial to the service, and conceived in a liberal and kindly spirit. Unquestionably the position of the unemployed class will be very grievous, but the scheme may contain details for ameliorating it which are not yet made public. It must be borne in mind too, that this class is not *created* by the amalgamation, but that it is already in existence. Indeed a striking peculiarity of the whole scheme is, how very slight is the measure of change which it will introduce. What changes it does involve are often little more than nominal, and affect designation rather than actual position and prospects. But even a change of designation is in certain cases worth something. However much some officers may affect to despise a name, few, we believe, would desire to revert to the title of 'the Honourable Company's Army.' The name of 'Native Infantry' stinks in the nostrils of most of us. There are not many officers, we take it, in Bengal at least; who desire to perpetuate, even in name, their connection with that once highly esteemed branch of the Army. The days when such a connection was deemed honourable, and a source of just pride, passed away when 'Native Infantry' became almost a synonym for mutineers. Such

feelings of course do not extend to those who claim to belong to the time-honoured corps of Indian Artillery, or to the Indian European regiments;—yet even the officers of those arms will not, if we judge them rightly, despise the designations they are hereafter destined to bear, or deem it otherwise than a gratifying change to add to the title which is still to identify them with a past order of things, the distinction of ‘Royal.’

So much as a mere matter of sentiment. But we believe that with these nominal advantages, more solid ones are also mixed up. The impending affiliation of the Indian Artillery and Engineer corps’ on the corresponding branches of the Royal service, seems likely to bring with it a very considerable amount of promotion, to the higher ranks at least of the former services. The same result, we anticipate, will attend the new organization of the European Infantry. Then as to the Staff Corps:—to be assured of the substantive rank of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel after twelve, twenty and twenty-six years’ service respectively, even though the pay of the respective grades be, as is asserted, somewhat reduced, is an unquestionable improvement upon the glorious uncertainty which attended promotion to those ranks under the former order of things. The promotion offered may not be brilliant, but it will be sufficient to attract into the service that class of men, who enter the army for a career; that class, in fact, of which it was the boast of the Indian Army to be composed. The proposed Indian Staff corps is destined, we firmly believe, to be hereafter the grandest body of officers to be found in the world. In its first institution it will hardly deserve the name of a *corps d’élite*, because admission into its ranks will have been the result in many instances of mere interest,—in others of chance and a favourable concatenation of circumstances,—in a few only of legitimate selection and proved ability. But every year the composition of its ranks should improve, as entrance becomes the reward of high attainments and peculiar capacity, and it must eventually take the place in public estimation which it will deserve, as being composed of the most eminent men which the military profession, under the most favourable conditions, can produce. There is infinite grandeur in the idea of a corps which shall contribute from its ranks to the public service every sort and description of talent for which a demand may arise;—which will manufacture and hold available for use, the proconsul who is to rule a province, the general who is to lead an army, the man of science whose discoveries may influence the future of the entire empire.

Since the above was written, the scheme has appeared. It will be seen that our anticipations have in almost every instance

proved correct, and that the great measure is even more complete and more considerate towards unemployed officers than we had dared to hope. We notice too the publication of a retiring scheme drawn up by the Commission, which, if sanctioned, even partially, by the Home Government, cannot fail to lighten the difficulties of the Executive, to place a charmed weapon in the hands of the military reformer, and to commend this word amalgamation even to those to whom it has hitherto been most repugnant.

ART. VII.—*Eastern Bengal and its Railways.*

EASTERN BENGAL extends from the slopes of the Himalaya mountains below Darjeeling in the North, to the head of the Bay of Bengal in the South, or roughly is enclosed within the 22nd and 27th parallels of North latitude.

The Eastern boundary, commencing at Chittagong, becomes interlaced with the hills which limit the empire of Burmah, and stretches out through the extensive valleys of Upper and Lower Assam, as far as the gorge in the Himalaya mountains, through which the great river Burhampooter descends from Thibet.

The Western limit follows the course of the rivers Hooghly and Bhagiruttee, and passes through Calcutta, Moorshedabad, Dinagepore up to Darjeeling.

Its length from North to South is about 350 miles; its breadth 300 miles. The total area of this country is about 100,000 square miles. Comparing this extent of country with the British Isles, which contain 120,000 square miles, it will be seen that Eastern Bengal is a country of no mean proportions.

The population, estimated at fifteen millions, may be looked upon as a simple, rural population, covering the cultivated area of the country very evenly, and but moderately condensed in towns, save in the metropolis of the Bengal Presidency. Per square mile, it is perhaps the most densely populated country of equal extent on the face of the globe.

'Eastern Bengal' is certainly a most fertile and prolific tract of land, and is suited to the most economical modes of cultivation. Watered by the two great rivers, Burhampooter and Ganges, and supplied with innumerable tributary rivers traversing the country like net work, there are abundant means at all points for irrigation, and a most extensive system of water carriage at all seasons of the year for the usual country boats. The products of the country are not surpassed either in quantity or quality by any District under the Tropics, and their importance is shewn by the large revenue returns.

The dwellings of the rural population consist chiefly of bamboo and mud huts, covered with a thick thatch of leaves or rice straw, and are usually to be found deeply ensconced in the jungle, and ordinarily not visible to travellers. This privacy is looked upon as of great importance, as it often shields a family from obnoxious intrusion. The Bengalees are an effeminate and indolent people; they are ingenious and handy workers, and though

slow in movement, they are nevertheless apt at learning. Their moral habits are however degraded. Cunning, deceit, and sensuality, are amongst their characteristics, and, as a natural consequence, where immorality predominates, courage is at a low ebb. Yet it is impossible to imagine the whole mass of the nation to be utterly void of some particle of that honesty of purpose, that conscientiousness of thought and feeling, which may be found even among those who do not rank in the highest position, either morally or intellectually, and education and example, combined with great firmness, may, in generations to come, yet present us with a community recognising the authority of moral principles; while, among the more cultivated intellects, there is even now no want of a certain shrewdness and quickness of thought, which offer materials for still better things.

To facilitate description, 'Eastern Bengal' may be arranged into three great territorial tracts.

The District lying to the south and west of the Ganges, including the District to the east of Calcutta, and the great Soonderbunds circuit, comprises the first tract.

The Soonderbunds stretch across the head of the Bay of Bengal, a distance of 260 miles, and present, at the Sandheads, a low swampy country and a dense forest for 50 miles inland. Beyond this, cultivation first makes its appearance. There are nine principal streams and several tidal estuaries to the sea front. The portion of the country which has been cleared is cultivated chiefly with rice, and is densely populated, but in the forests and on the extensive swamps there are but few inhabitants on account of the numbers of wild beasts and venomous reptiles, and the malaria which at the end of the rainy season is very deadly. The Soonderbunds is a tract of much interest, and offers many subjects for contemplation. The water channels afford an excellent, though circuitous, line for the navigation of country boats, which ascend and descend from the open and more cultivated parts of Eastern Bengal; but they are full of danger for the navigation of steamers or other large craft. The country is mostly covered with crops of rice and oil seeds, and open pastures, studded with beautiful groves of trees, which shelter and nourish the cattle belonging to the many villages that stud this interesting locality.

The Second Tract consists of the Districts lying between the Ganges and the Burhampooter, extending Northwards to the foot of the Himalayas. The character of the country is similar to the cleared portion adjoining the Soonderbunds; it is however a slightly higher tract of country, and is specially suited for the growth of fibrous plants, for which the neighbourhood of

Rungpore is greatly celebrated. The population inhabiting this tract of territory is scarcely less dense than in the first tract, whilst the general appearance of the country, always flat, is much the same as in the other parts of 'Eastern Bengal.'

The Districts lying East of the Burhampooter, including Dacca and Sylhet constitute the Third Tract. This tract presents greater resources than either the first or second tract. The greater portion of its surface is occupied by the rich plains of Mymensing and Sylhet through which the river Soornia meanders. The old channel of the Burhampooter, now nearly dry, together with other old beds of alluvion, wind along by Dacca from the Eastward.

This Tract affords a great variety of produce, such as cotton, sugar-cane, rice and other grains, together with potatoes, plantains and oranges. These last are supplied to Calcutta in greater quantities from here than from any other quarter. The Eastern hills offer a large assortment of agricultural produce and mineral wealth. In the high lands are obtained lime and coals, besides valuable timber, and the district produces tea of the best quality. In the pastures and jungles are elephants and buffaloes, valuable to India as beasts of burden, and, to commerce the latter are also valuable for their hides. This tract is therefore one of vast importance to the general resources of India. Excluding for the moment, any description of the great valley of Assam, the occupied portions of the three tracts contain together about 35,000 square miles, and it has been estimated that no less than 425 human beings are located on every square mile, giving nearly fifteen millions of inhabitants for working the internal resources of the country.

Viewing the three great tracts together, they certainly offer the finest field in India for the investment of capital and skilful enterprise. On the east and north limits of 'Eastern Bengal' are two 'Hill stations,' Cherapoonjee and Darjeeling. Each of these stations is a Sanatarium useful in alleviating the effects of the fierce and trying climate of Bengal. To all invalids, and especially to European constitutions, these stations are most valuable, and although at present hard to reach, they will be made accessible to the metropolis within a very few years.

In contemplating the picture of the country that has been described, it is painful to reflect how backward in civilisation is this important province of our Indian possessions. Although in its present undeveloped state it produces a greater proportion of revenue than any other tract of country in India of equal extent, it may be said to be enveloped in the accumulated darkness of past ages. There are no roads of importance, no appliances of modern civilisation, and the transit of produce is

effected by the most primitive expedients. Through its length and breadth it is limited to a tedious water communication in boats of unsafe and cumbersome construction. The staple of the export trade consists in the raw produce of the country, and the manufactures of Indigo and Silk. The imports are comparatively trifling, when such a vast population is taken into account, and much judicious management will be required before the consumption of English manufactures attains its due proportions.

It has been previously observed that the population of 'Eastern Bengal' was not condensed or concentrated in large towns, with the one great exception of the Metropolis, nor is there any reason why it should be. The elements of its commerce are solely agricultural, and differ therefore materially from trade in England. The produce of the country is collected in certain Bazars for further distribution, and the towns of Dacca, Rungpore, Mymensing, together with the marts of Serajunge, Jessore, Naraingunge, Sylhet, Assam, &c., constitute the chief resorts of traders and emporia of the resources of the country; but they are simply warehouses for exchange with Calcutta, and not centres of industry such as we possess at Manchester, Leeds, and innumerable other towns in England. Some few wealthy European and native traders however have established houses of their own, and transmit their own produce direct to Calcutta. The working people are ill directed by the zemindars or native landlords. The native mahajuns or merchants, together with the smaller traders and boatmen, have all endeavoured more or less to oppress or cheat them.

The great valley of Assam, which lies to the extreme east of Bengal, extends a length of four hundred miles, with a breadth varying from forty to seventy miles, and comprising an area of about 22,000 square miles, through which the Burhampooter River flows. Mr. Barry, of Serajunge, has fully described* the great value of this district as a field for mercantile speculation, on account of its great resources. Coal, lime, and iron have been discovered in several places, also gold and precious stones, and several amber and salt mines. Timber is found in the forests that line the Burhampooter. There are several extensive tracts of tea and other cultivated land, though the country is generally swampy. The people however are idle, and being abstemious are without any sufficient incentive to labor: the consequence is, there are immense tracts of excellent land lying waste, that

* Memorandum on the Province of Assam, published by C. B. Lewis, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1858.

might be most profitably cultivated. Wild elephants, tigers, leopards, bears, buffaloes, hogs, and game of all sorts abound, and the greater part of the country is in a truly primeval state.

It has been already mentioned that 'Eastern Bengal' possesses, in her many rivers, a complete system of water communication. These rivers are at present the only channels of communication that serve for the transport of merchandise; they are very circuitous and dangerous, and the tediousness of a journey up and down can be fully understood by those only who have had the fortune to endure it. Roads there are none, save near Calcutta and around some of the Civil Stations. There are a few miles of half-made roads, formed in a desultory unsystematic way, connected with the Indigo Factories, but no road that can be depended upon for a journey of twenty miles without interruption. Wheeled carriages, other than bullock hackeries, are therefore not to be met with at any distance from Calcutta, save at the Civil Stations, and the consequent loss of time in the transit of goods and in travelling generally, brings with it a corresponding loss of money. Roads therefore are the great want—good and substantial roads—and for the complete development of the country, railroads, as well as the common roads, must be provided. A well defined system of roads is the key to the prosperity of the country.

It has been estimated that about one half of the produce traffic, between the interior of this side of India and Calcutta, is obtained from within the districts of 'Eastern Bengal,' and that the largest portion of it is for British or foreign consumption. The present Eastern Bengal Railway was projected in 1856, and the computations concerning the amount of tonnage it was likely would be carried, were based on the returns of the Eastern Canals, from which it was fully demonstrated that upwards of one million tons weight of produce were transmitted annually to the port of Calcutta from the districts of 'Eastern Bengal,' and that at least forty thousand tons of imports were distributed over the same territory as return cargoes. From a further calculation it was presumed that the railway would obtain the transmission of 419,560 tons per annum. The promoters of the railway speculated on taking £379,210 per annum as gross receipts, from goods and passengers, when the line was completed to Dacca and Narraingunge which would produce a dividend of 8 per cent upon a capital of £3,000,000 the estimated cost, including the rolling stock, management, &c.

It may be observed that in so complex a river system as the Gangetic Delta, it was a question of no small importance to decide carefully in the first instance, the route of the trunk

line, so as to admit of the extension lines being connected advantageously hereafter. By a reference to the map inserted at page 168, it will be seen how judiciously the main line has been laid out for the aggregation of the traffic that will be brought down the various streams which traverse the country.

Such a system of railway as is here sketched out for the full development of the resources of the country is most essential, and the Government, it is presumed, will bear this always in mind, when deciding on the concessions hereafter to be made, from time to time, to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company; without it the resources of the various districts of the country cannot be thoroughly opened out. How strongly this is really felt by the authorities, may be understood by a short account of the steps they have already taken, and the progress that has been made with the Eastern Bengal Railway undertaking.

So far back as the year 1853, it was clearly perceived that the traffic of 'Eastern Bengal' required that a railway should be carried into that quarter. The question was brought under the consideration of the Government, before even the experimental line of the East India Railway Company to Raneegunge was tried, and Major Greathead, then a very young officer in the Bengal Engineers, was instructed to examine and report on the line of common road between Calcutta and Dacca via Jessore. To his report we owe the first outline of a plan for a line of railway from Calcutta eastwards; for not only did he distinctly point out that a railway could be had at but a trifling more cost than the ordinary road he was sent to report on, but he also broadly discussed the question of the amount of traffic that might be expected. This at once placed within the reach of an enterprising merchant of Calcutta, Mr. W. F. Fergusson, an amount of information which enabled him to organize a set of promoters in England; soon after which, the present company for carrying out the undertaking was formed.

In the early part of 1856, when a favourable opportunity occurred for putting forth a prospectus of the railway, and testing its merits upon the London money market, the avidity with which the shares were taken up was perfectly astonishing. The capital for the first section of the line was put down at one Million Sterling, but applications were actually made amounting to upwards of 15 Million Pounds Sterling, and the requisite deposit per share was collected for preliminary expences. This glut of applicants was weeded by the Directors, and the share list purged and reduced to the amount of capital required, and the deposit money for the surplus was returned to the applicants. In this way a singularly good, and

solvent list of shareholders was obtained. The Company thus got the capital subscribed on the condition of a guarantee being given of a fixed interest of 5 per cent., to be paid to the subscribers by the Government of India or the Court of Directors.

The East India Court of Directors looked carefully at the project, and would give no guarantee before the route of the line was definitively settled, or some favourable opinion expressed by the local Government of India. At this stage, it was thought expedient to send out an Engineer to Bengal to make surveys, and such preliminary investigations as would eventually be required; and during the latter end of 1856 and the early part of 1857, the country was explored and surveyed by Mr. Purdon, an Engineer, who was despatched from England for this special service. The plans and estimates, together with the reports of that gentleman, were duly submitted to the Government through Colonel Baker, and were fully discussed by the present Governor General in Council. The main trunk line from Calcutta to Dacca being considered the best that could be devised, was determined upon, and a recommendation was sent home to Government, and the East India Board to concede it to the present Company with a guarantee of 5 per cent. on the Capital required for its construction.

It was in June 1857 that the favourable opinion of the Government of India reached England, and with this despatch also came the lamentable intelligence of the mutiny of the Native Bengal Army; yet such was the reliance placed on the British strength in India, that within one month after the opinion of the Government of India was received, the concession of the line was given, and the guarantee of 5 per cent. granted on the capital conditionally subscribed. An Act of Parliament was next obtained within three months following, fully incorporating the Company.

Many of our readers can remember the impression the Mutiny in India made on Parliament, and how manfully the old Court of Directors permitted the Bill for the construction of the Eastern Bengal Railway to be proceeded with at a time when the very existence of the East India Company was in jeopardy; and how Members and Noble Lords smiled as the Bill proceeded, wondering at the revived energy of the Court of Directors during their throes of dissolution. The Act received the Royal assent in August 1857, when the direful news from India was at its culminating point. The promoters soon discovered that the confidence in Indian Securities of the public in England was shaken, and they refrained from making a call on the Shareholders for funds to enable the undertaking to proceed,

The Court of Directors participated in this very reasonable and just apprehension, and it was mutually agreed to let the subject rest until better times.

The baneful effects of the Mutiny on the public generally, extended itself to the promoters of the undertaking, and neither the Railway Board nor the Court of Directors had sufficient confidence to avail themselves of the opportunity of a year's leisure for completing the plans and particulars for the works, and the loss of this time was the cause of serious detriment to the Company. In the month of May 1858, when the cheering news from India of the rapid suppression of the Insurrection began to enliven their prospects, the Board found the old East India Court of Directors swept away, and a new order of things established at the India House. The confidence of the Shareholders then revived somewhat, although a Committee of the House of Commons was receiving the most conflicting and extraordinary evidence, that ever was taken, upon the causes of delay in the execution of the Railways of India. The Board now requested their Consulting Engineer, the late Mr. Brunel, to take steps for letting the construction of their works proceed, and they again engaged the services of Mr. Purdon, and appointed him Chief Engineer of the line in India.

In the mean time the evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee on the causes of delay in the construction of Indian Railways had created a strong feeling in England, that it was most advisable to get some of the great English contractors to execute the works, and bring their experienced and trained hands and familiar appliances, to bear on the prosecution of the Indian lines. Mr. Purdon was accordingly instructed, under Mr. Brunel's direction, to procure designs and prepare a comprehensive contract for letting the whole of the works of the Eastern Bengal Railway between Calcutta and Kooshtee, and the Board at once advertised the letting of the work by Public Tender, with a view of commencing active operations during the ensuing cold season in Bengal. This it appears was a very difficult task to perform in four months. It was nevertheless successfully accomplished, and Mr. Purdon, with a staff of Engineers, started for India in September 1858, immediately after the Board had accepted the Tender of Messrs. Brassey, Paxton, and Wythes. They arrived in Calcutta on the 1st November 1858, and lost no time in communicating with the Government.

The executive staff now experienced some of those difficulties in their surveys, which might be expected on commencing a new work in a foreign country, where their transactions were not facilitated by official routine. The Engineers of the local

Government were furnished by the Home Authorities with the details of the contract that had been made with Messrs. Brassey, Paxton, and Wythes. The conditions of the contract and the comprehensive specification puzzled them at first, because they knew that no working surveys of the line had as yet been made, though a preliminary survey had been obtained by Mr. Purdon, and that the Government had not even sanctioned the precise route of the line. The time allowed for the execution of the works also appeared to them marvellously short. The Engineers of Government in India were not familiar with such contracts, though of every day occurrence in England. Difficulties occurred, and doubts were entertained. The contract was said to be a very bad arrangement, and it was observed how much better it would have been if, instead of wasting a whole year in England contriving such a contract, the Company's Engineer had returned at the close of 1857, and made the proper working plans of the line, from data that could be at once understood by the local Government. But in fact all this was impossible, for India was at the time in rebellion.

The chief items of expence of any Railway in Lower Bengal, such as the Permanent way, the Ballast, the Earthwork, the principal Bridges, Stations, and fencing, can be calculated with sufficient accuracy from a general survey of the line, and it makes little difference, (there are of course exceptional cases) whether the line be carried a few chains to one side or the other of the assumed line of route. The amount of all the items can be so nearly determined by an experienced Engineer, that an approximate set of quantities may be got out to form the basis of a perfectly sound contract, which shall provide for adjusting the gross sum according to the ultimate ascertained quantities of the work when executed. In all sound contracts, provision is made to adjust the original estimate with the actual outlay, and this adjustment is made by a comparative view of the quantities which formed the basis of the original estimate, with those actually found to have been executed at the completion of the works. The excess or deficiency of works of any kind being added to or deducted from the original estimate.

Obtaining possession of the land for the formation of the Railway was a tedious operation, and although the contractors were to have commenced work as early as December 1858, they were unable to do so before the month of October following, as the land could not be made over except at a few disconnected places until that period. Next came the Contractors' difficulties with respect to a fair adjustment of wages for the coolies, who withheld their service

for a time, with a view of forcing the Contractors to pay exorbitant rates, believing them to be bound under any circumstances to a fixed period for completing the works. Time however smoothed in a measure these difficulties, and the Contractor's staff being shortly afterwards organized, and distributed over the line, they commenced work in earnest. Shipments from England arrived, and the materials were transported speedily, and fortunately without loss, on to the various divisions or districts, as they are called, of the line. A severe scrutiny on the part of Government was in the meanwhile carried on, on account of the doubts still entertained of the soundness of the conditions and stipulations of the contract.

After this brief sketch of a part of the history of the proceedings of the Eastern Bengal Railway Company up to the time of the arrival of the Engineering staff, and the present Contractor and his staff in India for the actual prosecution of the works, the present state of the undertaking should be described.

It appears from a statement which has been obtained from the Chief Engineer, that up to the present time 66 per cent. of the Earthwork for the whole 110 miles is done, and 21 per cent. of the brickwork; 16 per cent. of the ballast is burned, and about 40 per cent is ready for firing, and the materials for laying the greater portion of the permanent way are upon the ground. In addition to the above works the iron bridges are in a very forward state. It may therefore be confidently anticipated, if all still continues to go on smoothly, that the 110 miles of line will be finished and ready for traffic, before the rains of next year, or in May 1862.

Fifty-six millions of pounds sterling represent the anticipated cost of railway works in India already conceded to the fostering care of Joint Stock Companies; this amount is to be invested with the Government of India at a guaranteed rate of interest of five per cent. per annum, with a prospect of course of an additional rate of interest from a dividend. This is indeed a grand step in advance for India; and should Indian Railways become as remunerative as they are popular, it may be confidently predicted that as much as one hundred millions of pounds sterling can be easily raised in England, and be beneficially laid out on Indian Railways.

The Eastern Bengal Railway Company has a concession to construct a Railway from Calcutta to the River Ganges at Kooshtee, and ultimately to Dacca, together with a branch to Jessore. The Company have taken power under an Act of incorporation to increase their Capital to £6,000,000, and to make arrangements for the construction of at least 600 miles of Rail-

way. Sufficient capital to construct only the first section of 110 miles from Calcutta to Kooshtee, has at present been raised.

A small map here introduced will shew the line conceded to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company; the black line being the parent stem of the system of communication which it is thought will be required. The dotted lines, and the annexed table will shew the lines that evidently appear necessary to develop, if not to complete, the railway system in 'Eastern Bengal.' These lines may be constructed under the powers already conceded to the Railway Company by their present Act of Parliament, subject to the capital being guaranteed by the Indian Government.

	<i>Miles.</i>
0 Main trunk line between Calcutta and Kooshtee,	110
1 Extension of the Main line from Kooshtee to Naraingunge via Dacca,	106
2 From Shazadpore to Rungpore,	116
3 From Rungpore to near Darjeeling along the course of the Teesta river,	100
4 From Rungpore to opposite Rajmahal via Dinagepore and Malda, to connect the North West with the Eastern Bengal system of lines,	110
5 From Rungpore to the foot of the Assam Valley,	50
6 From off the Dacca extension line at Dhumroy to Sylhet,	120
Total,	712

This amount of railway mileage appears to be as requisite to accommodate 'Eastern Bengal' as the 1,414 miles of railway already conceded to the East Indian Railway Company, is for the North West, since its population, produce, and natural resources are no less in proportion. How these extension lines (all of them abutting on the main line or trunk), already conceded to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company, are to be carried out, is a problem which our rulers will have to solve, if the resources of this side of India are to be developed: and to the discussion of this problem we shall briefly address ourselves.

It appears certain that no better course can be adopted for carrying out the extension Railways, than that of accepting the medium of the Companies already incorporated; because, as was most truly observed by the Governor General of India at the recent opening of the Railway to Rajmahal;—'Though the Government were most anxious to give encouragement to the investment of English Capital in India, and however sincere their desire, that encouragement, would fail unless they could prove by the establishment of Companies that there is scope for remunerative employment of such Capital in India, particularly in Bengal. Without such assurance, capitalists will not

'be induced to aid in such enterprises, however useful in their ultimate results.'

Now if we are to look forward to the construction of 712 miles of Railway in Eastern Bengal, and in like proportion through other important provinces and districts of India, it is difficult to conceive by what other means the money can be raised; for although the Government might possibly raise a loan of a few millions for the purpose of making a limited number of miles of Railway, it is quite improbable they could raise money enough, in addition to the heavy loans required for the other purposes of the State, to construct the many miles that are required. The House of Commons would scarcely sanction such a proceeding, if indeed it were feasible, as the English Market would thereby be deluged with Indian State securities to the depreciation of all English stock. It would however be quite otherwise if the Joint Stock Company principle of raising capital were judiciously made use of, because, where private enterprise can have scope, the direct action of Government is seldom or ever desirable. But putting aside any question of whether it is abstractedly better to borrow in the form of a direct loan to Government, or indirectly by encouraging the investment of Joint Stock Capital; the former course can only be practicable to a very limited extent, neither is the latter system capable of any great extension, unless it can be shewn to afford remunerative employment for the capital invested; but if it be carried out by degrees, so as not to overdraw the resources that can be spared in England, at any one time for such purposes, every mile of Railway here mentioned may be constructed in comparatively few years, provided the different sections of the lines be taken up in succession, and laid before the English public in a skilful and judicious manner, and under a Government guarantee.

The raising of money for Indian Railways, through the medium of Joint Stock Companies, was not adopted in the first instance, chiefly because it enabled the capital to be more conveniently raised. There was another very important reason for it, namely, the deficiency of the requisite executive machinery at the disposal of the Government, for the construction of the lines, which thus would have to be entrusted to officers in the service of the State, who would have to be self-trained to their duties; whilst Joint Stock Companies on the other hand could bring together experienced men from England and other countries. It may be argued that the Government also could engage the same experienced Staff of Engineers and other Officers, but this does not appear so certain. The State could not so easily get them together as Joint Stock Companies, because Civil Engineers in

general, have a dislike to military control '*per se*,' as it does not permit them to exercise that freedom of thought in the preparation of their designs, or the supervision of their works, to which they have been accustomed. It is no small privilege to India to possess, as she does at the present time, that diversity of Engineering thought and talent in the prosecution of her railway works, which has been introduced by the agency of Joint Stock Companies, and it would be unwise if India were not to avail herself of that skill and experience, which the satisfactory construction and completion of English and European Railways, places at her disposal. It might also be made advantageous to the Indian Government, as a school to train the officers and servants who are in her pay, since the process of making an experienced Railway Engineer is not so easy as it is at times imagined, and it is always an expensive and tedious operation. There are ~~many~~ clever and talented Engineers to be found in the service of the Indian Government, but it is hardly possible that they should possess that experience in those numerous details of Railway practice, which go to form the Railway Civil Engineer.

It has been previously mentioned that the present concession to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company extends beyond the Ganges to the Burhampooter and to Dacca, but that the capital actually subscribed is only for a section of Railway between Calcutta and Kooshtee on the Ganges, a distance of about 110 miles. There is no guarantee as yet given for the extension capital, and no subscription contract is as yet entered into for raising the money. Now at first sight it might appear that nothing is easier than for the Government of India to guarantee 5 per cent. upon the extension capital, issue the stock, and raise the money forthwith. But a little reflection will shew that there is considerable difficulty in the way, the shares being already at 10 per cent. discount.* In the face of this fact, no extension capital can be expected to be subscribed for at the present time, unless the shares can be obtained at a still greater discount, or unless a higher and more tempting rate of interest be guaranteed. Such a state of things practically precludes the possibility of raising Joint Stock Capital for further extensions, until the project appears likely to be more remunerative than the 5 per cent. guaranteed, and also perhaps until a period of more eager desire for investment in Indian Securities is manifested by the London Market than at present exists.

* The cause of this depression is believed to be owing to the fact that the merits of the undertaking have not as yet been sufficiently notified and explained to the public.

In order then to float any extension shares, it is evident that the portions of Railway previously constructed must be made in the first instance remunerative; the management of the Company's affairs must in like manner be maintained in good repute; Capitalists will then in all probability be found to take up the stock from time to time, when judiciously offered in the market. What at present is most necessary for the Railway Boards is, to collect into a well considered compendium or pamphlet all such reports and statistics, estimates and prospects of traffic of the various lines, which should be circulated amongst the proprietors and the public under the sanction of Government, to enable people to judge of the merits of the various projects. The publication of these in one volume for all the Indian lines would give a great impulse to those investments, and be likely to produce a large accession of capital for these undertakings at the earliest period that it is desirable to obtain it. When the parent stem is extended to Dacca, the line to Rungpore may be put forward, and if guaranteed will be taken up with as much avidity as the original share capital of the Company, if but good faith and steadiness of purpose in keeping up the reputation of the Company, be maintained.

It may be observed that in dealing with so difficult a subject as the raising of Railway Capital, many collateral points will naturally arise, which require to be specially met; for instance, an unusually sterile tract of country over which little or no traffic can be obtained; or an expensive bridge over a great river such as the Ganges at Kooshtee; or some sudden depression in the money market; or the reputation of the Company itself suffering from assumed, or actual bad management. All or any of these causes might disturb the proceedings of the Company to such an extent, that they would have great difficulty in raising capital. To meet such circumstances it might be permitted to the Company to borrow on debentures, a sum equal to one third the Capital subscribed, so as to counteract and tide over some of these temporary difficulties, and it might also be desirable for the Government itself to assist and relieve the Company from some of the very heavy works, and perhaps to undertake directly the construction of the line across any commercially unproductive tract of country, so that every link should be made complete by leasing the Government works to the Company. The Government might be enabled in more prosperous times to borrow for such purposes on the securities of the Revenue of India, in addition to guaranteeing the share Capital of the Company; but whether encouragement and positive assistance on the part of Government are given or not, it

is essential that the fullest control of the expenditure and management of the Company's undertaking should be vested in the Government.

This leads to the discussion of another very important question already dealt with partially, viz. the relation between the Government and the Company, and the powers of each. Considering the varied character of Joint Stock Companies in general the utmost influence and care of the Home Authorities should be exercised in obtaining a good Directory in the first instance, and afterwards maintaining it. The approval by the Indian Secretary of State of each Director should be made a *sine quâ non* by Act of Parliament. The Home Government should have power to dismiss any Director, although the shareholders should still retain the prerogative of electing their own Directors. It is evident the Government have a large stake in the undertaking, since they not only give the land, but also the guarantee of 5 per cent. and it may be generally remarked in respect to all Railways that inefficient Directors do much mischief, and often seriously impede the progress of the undertaking, which must not be looked upon as being but a private speculation, but also a grand national work.

It is doubtless a delicate and difficult problem to determine where the interests of the shareholders are in opposition to the representatives of the State; but it appears self evident that none but well known men should be admitted to sit at the Board of Direction,—men who being respectable in social standing and commercial position would draw around them respect, and bring with them a connection that would facilitate the raising of capital; men who, possessed of good sense, would never attempt to frustrate the national object and jeopardise the general prosperity of the undertaking as a whole; men who would carry with them the confidence of the body of Shareholders, and who possess sufficient strength of mind to enable them to combat successfully the elements of disturbance, suspicions, and of improper interference and combinations, made against the Board of Directors and governing authorities whenever they occurred. It must not be supposed that there is extraordinary difficulty in procuring such Boards of Direction. Gentlemen of the stamp required are found ready to enter respectable Directions of great Companies, such as the Indian Railways are likely to become, and such Gentlemen are actually found to sit upon the Direction of our Indian Railways, and it should be as much an honor to sit at one of the Boards as it is to be a Director of the Bank of England, or as it was to be Director of the late East India Company.

Having secured the best possible Board of Directors, next comes the degree in which the Government should exercise its control. There is but the faintest possible analogy between the constitution of an Indian Railway Company and the position of the ordinary Railway Companies in England. The one goes on without any supervision on the part of the State beyond the Act of Parliament for the guidance of the Railway Company. The other requires the constant and vigilant supervision of the Local Government and its Officials, to prevent abuses to the landholders and community at large, that might otherwise lead to consequences disastrous to the Empire.

Unlike Companies for English Railways, the Government reserve to themselves at starting the right of selecting the route of the line, and as they give the land and the requisite guarantee, they are obviously entitled to the most complete supervision of the expenditure of the Company.

There are many essential reasons why it would be well for Railway Boards to admit the necessity of the Government control over their undertakings in India, but chiefly because there are no independent tribunals in India. The Supreme Courts of India are unable to enforce the performance of an agreement between an English Company and the Imperial State. No Railway executive in India therefore, should be entrusted with the difficult problems that arise from time to time, unless placed under the direct sanction of some local authority, possessing stability of character and a certain amount of freedom of action. To refer every question home for deliberation would cause much difficulty and elicit many inconvenient explanations; it would excite irrelevant correspondence, and would seldom present a true description of the case when it reached England. It is therefore almost impossible for a Railway Company, of itself, to organise an agency of sufficient power or authority, for the construction or the working of a Railway in India. Considering then the intimate relations that should exist between the Railway executive in India and the local Government, it is a most important desideratum to determine the most effective system of conducting the Company's affairs. It may be assumed with sufficient accuracy for argument, that capitalists will invest no money in Indian Railways without a guarantee from the Indian State, and if this is so, the legislature says, so long as we guarantee you your property, we will take to ourselves the right of controlling your discipline. It is clear then that the Companies cannot 'ab initio' regulate their own operations independently of Government, neither can the executive Officers in India be wholly trusted with unlimited

powers, since they would clash with the civil discipline of Government.

The capital being raised under a guarantee, and secured under a regular agreement between the Government and the Railway Company, it is made a proviso that the Company are to be allowed the full advantage of any increase of profit that is fairly due to the successful development of the traffic, after the Government have been repaid their guarantee. This source of increased dividend is contingent on the success of the line, which again is of course due to the project being well considered and the management being judiciously maintained. In granting this benefit to Joint Stock enterprises, the interest of the State is fully secured, and it is manifestly also to the interest of Government to assist the undertaking cheerily on its course of prosperity.

Such being the basis upon which Indian Railways, as at present constituted indisputably rest, it is really not a matter of much difficulty to determine the way of so applying the Government control, as to give satisfaction both to the Railway Companies and to Government. It is by no means necessary or proper for the Government to have an absolute control over the Railways, as if they were entirely its own property; on the contrary, it is much better to be associated with the Railway Boards.

The right of appointment of their Chief Officers and other functionaries rests with the Railway Companies themselves, subject however to the approval of the Home Government, and it has been supposed that the right of dismissal over all the Officers and Servants of the Companies employed in India, should be referred to the local Government who control them; but this is not so, and it would be very injurious to the administration of a Company's affairs if it were; because no really good officials could be found who would come out to India to take service under one set of men, whilst another set of men might summarily dismiss them; neither would any good arise from such a power being given to the local Government, because their appointments being made direct from the Company, the Officers and servants of the Company would very naturally disregard any interference, not contemplated or specified in their agreements, and it would very probably give rise to insubordination and distrust of the Company. It might not be amiss perhaps for the Local Government to have power actually delegated to them in each agreement, to argue the merits of all cases of indiscretion, insubordination, or inefficiency, previous to the decisions of the Home Board, but it should not be permitted to them to act merely on their own convictions.

It has been previously observed that there was little difficulty in devising a complete scheme for working out the Railway Company's contracts in India, after the agreement between the State and the Company has been completed. In order to discuss this part of the subject on its merits, it is desirable to have a knowledge of the arrangements most commonly adopted. A general Agent is appointed to India to represent the Board, and he is either accompanied or preceded by the Engineer in Chief with a staff of Assistant Engineers and Subordinates. These two principal Officers are then placed in communication with the local Government, with whom it lies to sanction previously every thing that has to be done, both in the administrative and executive departments. It is rightly required that the Agent, representing as he does the Company in India, should be the sole medium of correspondence between the Executive, the Home Board, and local Government. He is to be conversant with all things relating to the affairs of the company, without interfering on points which are left wisely to the discretion and professional knowledge of the Chief Engineer, who on Engineering matters should be exempted from his control; but it is also not unreasonably desired that a certain check should be kept by the Agent over the Chief Engineer on matters of general outlay, so as to subject him to the control of the Board and the local Government. The latter is represented by an Officer called the 'Consulting Engineer' whose duty it is to advise the Government and convey its views and orders to the Company's executive.

It is presumed that the route of the intended Railway has been generally ascertained before hand, from exploring surveys made either by the Company or by the Engineers of the local Government. It is now too late to talk of a Royal Commission to lay out a general system of Railways for India, since the leading lines of the Country have been long since determined; the routes therefore of all future extension lines may be safely left to be decided by the different Government authorities, no matter from what source they gather their intelligence. The Railway officers are responsible only for the construction of the line, and so long as they do it in conformity with the views and regulations of Government, as intimated to them through the Government Consulting Engineer, they need not care what route has been determined on. The manner in which the route is ultimately decided on has varied greatly according to the circumstances of each project, and depends greatly on the views of those officers who may be acting for the Company or Government at the time.

There are two systems at work in the management of Railways in India. Some of the Companies have proceeded with the construction, before taking any comparative views of their means and ends; others have more wisely made comprehensive estimates before hand, and passed carefully in review every thing they would ultimately have to provide. It has sometimes happened that no skilled Contractors could be found with capital sufficient to take the whole works; this has obliged the Railway Companies themselves to construct them with their own Executive Staff; but this system has frequently obstructed the works, and is one which should be avoided as highly objectionable and defective. But it is not always a matter of choice which system is adopted, although there can be little question of the desirableness of letting the works, whenever practicable, to Contractors possessing experience and resources. The practice pursued under each of the two systems referred to will be dealt with hereafter. In the mean time it may be observed that whichever system be used for constructing the works, the regulations which affect the executive of any Railway Company, and the machinery by which the Government control is to be exercised, demand the primary consideration.

The Government Engineers and the Civil Engineers have not hitherto worked, as they ought to do, harmoniously together, and much evil has resulted in consequence. The cause of this disagreement is not difficult to explain; but before doing so, it is necessary to point out how badly contrived is the machinery of the Railway Company's executive, from the fact of the Railway Agent and the Chief Engineer of the line having independent authority. The arrangement is defective; the Government Engineers encouraged it as a safeguard for themselves, but the system had a depressing effect on the Railway Engineers who make the designs and direct the execution of the works, and who being alone responsible for the soundness of their construction, are entitled to credit accordingly. The result was however, that the Agent of the Railway Company was made a sort of buffer between the Government and the Company's Engineers, and his intervention was sought as a matter of policy.

The office of the Agent thus became one of great practical consequence instead of being as at first intended, simply a medium for communicating the wishes of the Board and the Chief Engineer. Consequently when the agent supported the official requirements of Government, the opinion of the Chief Engineer was unduly overborne, so often as he submitted and strenuously supported his own views, which might at times be in opposition to those entertained by the Government Officers.

Reverting to the system of the proper organization of the Company's Staff, it must always be borne in mind that there are two distinct periods in the existence of a Railway Company. One is the period of the construction of their works; the other the subsequent period of working the undertaking. The first is a period of capital expenditure; the second, a much longer period of Revenue disbursements and returns. The first is essentially an Engineering period; the second a traffic-working period, where the general control of the Agent may be advantageously exercised.

The Agent's financial knowledge and habits of business might be made of great service to the Chief Engineer, during the construction of the line, more especially as he will afterwards be called upon to work the line in conjunction with the Traffic Manager, Locomotive Superintendent, and Resident Engineer. But during the construction of the Railway works and its capital expenditure, the Chief Engineer must be the principal man consulted and confided in, because on him the whole responsibility rests; the Directors and every one else look to him for the successful accomplishment of their undertaking. His judgment is looked on as final, and the Shareholders having entrusted him with their confidence and embarked their capital upon the faith of his estimates and reports, naturally look to the Chief Engineer as their Chief Officer during the construction of the line. It is well known to Railway Companies, that the most important thing at the outset of their speculations is to determine who shall be the Engineer entrusted with the expenditure of their money, as he must not only be a man who can command confidence, but he must be a skilful man, and one accustomed to design works soundly and economically. His administrative ability in directing the execution is no less necessary, than his general prudence and habit of forethought and integrity of character, so as to keep the Company safe on points which none other besides himself, could be expected to foresee or be able to guard against. For this reason he should not be interfered with in professional details and trivial matters that only thwart and cross his purpose without effecting any real economy. The character of an Engineer has always been held in consideration amongst the highest class of Railway Directors, as well as amongst Statesmen and capitalists, and there is no sound reason why the Government of India and the direction of the Railway interests should not similarly regard it.

It has been previously explained that no great amount of capital can be obtained for Indian Railways, except through the medium of Joint Stock Companies, and that it requires a more

skilful system of management than has hitherto been brought to bear on such enterprises; and certain points have been touched upon, which tend to shew that the only way to raise the requisite capital, is to strengthen the existing security by a State guarantee, and supply such management as will carry with it that confidence, which usually attracts capital to such speculations: also, commercially speaking, by a judicious selection of the route and design of the works, and by a wide publication of the advantages that may be obtained from each project. There need be little fear but that all the lines really wanted in India may be made, if their merits are only properly placed before the English public, and a State guarantee of 5 per cent. is given to them. The reason why the efforts already made have not been continuously successful, is easily traceable to the fact, that the requisite skill has not characterised the management of this subject, and also that the London money market is not at all times accessible to Railway schemes.

The spirit of 'Capital' is coy, and requires gentle wooing; it is repelled or attracted by the most delicate influences, and as no brusque or inconsiderate action or remark ever passes unheeded, so likewise no force is of any avail in its subjection. It may from this be assumed that no system will be found to work out successful results, if the men who compose the deliberative body of Directors and Government authorities in London are not cautious in their movements, and equal to the circumstances they have to control. The basis of the management must be sound at starting, and it may be brought into operation as regards the organization of the London Boards of management in the way already suggested.

The Executive Staff usually employed in England by the Indian Railway Companies, consists of the Secretary and his Clerks, together with a Consulting Engineer, his Assistants and Inspectors, for directing the execution of that portion of the works which must be done in England. It has been found necessary that such Consulting Engineers as can be safely trusted to advise the Directors and Government authorities at home, should be men of first rate standing in their profession, who can also obtain the confidence of Parliament and the public; and as such men are naturally consulted with reference to the appointment of the Chief Engineers of such Companies in India, there is little more to desire, because a man is sure to be selected who will work harmoniously with the Consulting Engineer and the Home Board, and all that is wanted is that the Board should second the views of their professional adviser, and that their Secretary be such a person as

will bring every item under the deliberative judgment of the Board. There is not much that is wanting in the constitution of the Home management; but as already stated the selection of Directors is of the utmost consequence so that they may command the confidence of capitalists. An injudicious selection of Directors would be calculated to create distrust of the whole undertaking.

The Agent in India who shall act as the Chief Officer or head of the Company, and represent the Board, should be selected for his administrative aptitude. His character should be strictly honorable in order to obtain the cheerful obedience of the Executive Officers, and the respect of the Local Government. His duties should be clearly defined with reference to the head Officers of each department, and, at first starting, there should be no other departments than those of the Chief Engineer and his own. The Agent should commence with a very ~~small~~ establishment, but sufficient to assist him in conducting the correspondence with the Board and the Government, and between him and the Chief Engineer; a responsible Book-keeper should also be attached to the Office of the Agent during the earlier stage of the proceedings, before the line is opened for public traffic, in order to keep a perfect account of the capital expenditure, together with any share or transfer transaction.

The Chief Engineer's establishment must of course be governed by the extent and magnitude of the proposed operations, and it must be left to himself to select and distribute his District Engineers and their assistants as he thinks best. He should of course be allowed such draftsmen and writing clerks as may be necessary to conduct efficiently the duties of his office.

It has been observed before, that there are two important stages in the progress of a Railway Company. The time of construction and the period of ordinary working. During the first of these, the Agent has but little to do, because the Chief Engineer has alone to work out the design which is governed by the capital expenditure. There can be no greater mistake made in the administration of the constructive department of Indian Railways, than the attempts of Government Engineers and Railway Company's Agents to organize under a fixed routine the proceedings of the Company's Executive Engineers; because the circumstances are variable, and promptitude is essential in order to grapple effectually with the difficulties of new works and novel circumstances.* Where such vast sums are involved, the progress of the works should not be idly sacrificed for months or even days to the bugbear of routine. It has not unfrequently happened that a question of some trivial diminution

of prices, or a plan of some trifling section has involved the stoppage of important works, and voluminous notes on the subject have been made by the Government Engineers previous to a decision that the work might go on as proposed. The establishments asked for by the Engineers to carry out their duties have often appeared excessive, because there has not been sufficient regard to the distinction between a fixed organization relating to a revenue expenditure, and an organization which is only temporary, and which is part and parcel of the capital expenditure. Is it not obviously to the advantage of the Company to complete the works as speedily as possible, and so free the capital from its unproductive posture? Is it wise to delay the undertaking for the want of an additional temporary establishment, which is deemed absolutely necessary by the Chief Engineer?

The remedy for all this is simple, viz., to recognize the principle that the Chief Engineer of the Railway is responsible, for the design and execution of the works, and until the Railway Engineers are made responsible by the Government authorities at Home and aboard, there can exist no sound principles of management in the proceedings of Companies. The Eastern Bengal Railway differs from most of the other Companies, in so far that the whole project was laid before the Home Government in the utmost possible detail, when the contract for its construction was made, and this has been so useful in bringing every thing necessary to complete the undertaking under Government review and preventing disappointment, that few disputes have arisen between the Company's Executive and the Government Officers. Hence the satisfactory position of the Eastern Bengal Railway Company's operations. Its construction is indeed a marked success, although some misunderstandings regarding the Directors' duties and those of the Government Engineers, may have arisen; these happily have not done much mischief, in consequence of the soundness of the contract and the system of Engineering management that was adopted. Nevertheless all this points out the strong necessity which exists, of calling upon the Railway Engineer in India to submit his plans and estimates, and every thing else necessary for carrying into successful effect the undertaking from beginning to end, and requiring him to get these, or any modification of them, agreed to under sanction of the Government Engineers, so that he may begin operations upon some fixed basis, from which there cannot easily be departure. Differences of opinion should be limited to matters of detail, which do not involve those vast discrepancies of design and outlay that have been at times forced

upon the Railway Companies, and for which their own Engineers and Managers have been blamed, as we think erroneously.

It is not material in point of principle, whether the works be let to great Railway contractors or not. In many cases, it is impossible they could be so let, from the fact of such men not being always ready to take them at a reasonably fair price, and it would destroy the advantage of having such contractors, if it was necessary to give them a higher price than the same work could be done for by the Company's own Executive, either through the medium of a series of small contractors, or by day work, or a combination of both, as is usually the case.

Whatever course is pursued, the great requisite that we have urged before for proceeding successfully, is the judicious selection of the Chief Engineer, who must be trusted with the expenditure of the money. It is by no means necessary that any blind confidence should be put in any such individual; on the contrary, it is proper to watch his proceedings carefully and control his actions when necessary, but he must be recognized as the designer and the constructor of the project, and looked to as the fittest man to determine all Engineering points, though subject to be called upon at any time to submit in review, every thing affecting the design and execution as well as the accounts of the expenditure. Unless this is admitted, it is impossible that the various questions that arise can be discussed by the Board or the Government in a fair manner; and if the Chief Engineer is not in a position to bring all matters that are necessary under review, it is clear that some body else should do so. But where shall we find any other official that is more competent to grasp the whole question, and assign to each consideration its proper place before the deliberative authority, except perhaps in the department of the Company's Consulting Engineer?

The true way is to call upon the Chief Engineer, to put forward the points referred to, and with the advice of the Company's consulting Engineer to assist the Directors and Government Engineers, or other authorities, in deciding the basis upon which the proceedings should rest; and if the works can be let to great general Contractors, the case is afterwards very simple, if the practice adopted on the Eastern Bengal Railway be pursued. But if the works must be carried out by small contracts, and by the Company's own Executive staff, still there is little danger of the Engineers going wrong, provided the basis of their operations be fully determined beforehand, and agreed to by the Consulting Engineers of the Government. All that is then necessary is to hold the Chief Engineer to the responsibility that he has agreed to, and to see

that he is *freely* trusted, because there should be no occasion for distrust, if the estimates, quantities, and other requirements of the work, be but clearly specified. The mode of dealing with the detailed operations, may be safely left to the Chief Engineer under these circumstances, and there would be no want of confidence in the Government officers, because they would be freed from that perplexity of doubt which the absence of a fixed basis engenders.

Referring next to the periods of construction and traffic working, it has been shewn that during the first period the Chief Engineer and Company's Agent, together with Government Consulting Engineers, are all the heads of departments necessary, and that the Agent's office is one of very little range of action. When, however, the time arrives for working the traffic, an entirely different management is necessary. It brings into existence the Traffic Manager and the Locomotive Superintendent, together with the Agent's active duties, and as the Chief Engineer is removed to other places for the purposes of construction, his place should be taken up by a Resident Engineer of the permanent way and works; but if the Chief Engineer should remain in the service of the Company for extensions or branch lines, he should still be held as the responsible person to consult upon all questions affecting the 'way and works,' and the Resident Engineer in charge, should be regarded as his assistant only.

Questions of importance which task to the utmost the administrative powers of a Joint Stock Company, controlled by Government, are of every day occurrence, and it is of the greatest consequence to select as their Agents, men fully competent to handle such difficult matters so far from home; and to command the services of the class of men required, good salaries must be given, and as this involves great cost, it follows that small Railway projects cannot bear the requisite expenses of a separate management so well, as when the undertakings are of a sufficient magnitude to support an efficient staff.

It has been remarked by the greatest of all Railway authorities, the late Mr. Robert Stephenson, in reference to the duties of Directors and officers, that 'no Railway can be efficiently or well conducted without thorough unity amongst the heads of all the great Departments. Upon the Superintendents of ways and works of the Locomotive Department, of the out-door arrangements and of traffic, devolve the most onerous and responsible duties; where they fail to act together, or when any one of them ceases to enjoy the full confidence of the Board, every thing must go wrong. Having selected men of the best class, confiding in their integrity, and assured of their competency,

‘one of the principal duties of a Railway direction is to support its officers; any Directorial interference with details must weaken their efficiency, upon which must mainly depend the ultimate success of the Company they serve.’

It is manifest from this and what has been previously stated, that the persons who must be looked to for successfully working Railways in India, are the four principal officers, *viz.* the Agent, or head of the Company; the Engineer of the way and works; the Traffic Manager; and the Locomotive Superintendent; and that one of the chief duties of the Directors at home is to support them; and it may be added, that the duty of the Consulting Engineer of the Local Government is to control their proceedings in India.

As the Board in London is too far removed for direct action, it would be well to have a deliberative committee or council of administration in India formed of these four officers, with the Government officer as an *ex-officio* member, to act as chairman. These should meet as often as necessary to decide upon the various proceedings of the Company. The Agent of the Company should act as Secretary at all such meetings, and their resolutions, as well as the substance of their discussions, should be faithfully reported to the London Board and to the Government. The fact of the Government officer taking the most important part in their deliberations, need in no way disturb their proceedings, which have eventually to be sanctioned by the Local Government under the contract existing between the Company and the Government. There can be no objection to this principle, and it is submitted that the Executive Officers acting as a deliberative body, would be like our cabinet at home, which is composed of the members of the executive Government, each responsible in his own department. The working of such a body should be such as not to relieve any officer from the responsibility that belongs to his department, and votes should only be taken upon those general questions which must be submitted to the Home Board before any action is taken. The Government control would always check any strong headed individual who might be disposed to a pertinacious adherence to his own views. For instance, if the Locomotive Superintendent or the Engineer applied for approval for the supply of a quantity of stores or machinery, the deliberative body might perhaps disapprove of allowing what was asked for, and it would not do for him to say, if you refuse me what I ask, I will leave the responsibility with you. The deliberative body should be freed from such a pressure being put on them by the controlling power of the Government acting quite independent of the

deliberative council, although perhaps greatly guided by the discussion that took place, but not by the voting; and the Government would be supported in such control by the deliberative opinion of the council or body of Railway officers, whilst the deliberative Council would not possess the power of interfering with the individual responsibility of the heads of Departments beyond expressing their own views.

The modern Joint Stock Banks, which of late years have succeeded so well in India, afford a fair specimen of the manner in which Railway Companies' affairs should be conducted. There is a Manager or chief officer, a Cashier, and so forth. The duties of each are defined with the utmost care, and the success of all undertakings greatly depends upon the judgment with which these several duties are defined. The Manager presides at a deliberative Board of the officers, and they discuss and decide general things. Each officer is however responsible for what falls in the way of his own duty, and has to report all particulars in as great detail as if he never joined in deliberation on the subject, and the Manager has to do the same. All the officers are quite independent of each other, and thus the Board at home gets the real facts of every material circumstance transmitted regularly from each department in the special reports, also the results of the general deliberation of all the officers, through the general Manager, Secretary or Agent. The Home Board then sends out an Inspector once or twice a year to look into each department, and report upon the whole state of the Company's affairs.

Such particular caution is not necessary in the case of Railway management, owing to Government control being in force, but something like it should be observed. The Agent together with the other officers before mentioned, might do as the Manager and other officers of a bank do, and form a very effective Board of management.

The council of administration should be referred to by all the subsidiary officers applying for instructions, including the Store-keeper, the superintendent of Police, the local Solicitor and the Accountant, together with the tradesmen and all other parties that do not exactly come within the province of any single department. There would naturally grow from this practice sub-divisions for the dispatch of the different sections of business, and the members of the council would form themselves into committees for special enquiries, and principles of management or negotiation would be originated which would ultimately lead to as sound a system of administration as could be wished for or expected.

ART. VIII.—*Scripture and Science not at Variance.* By John H. Pratt, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta.—London: Hatchard. Calcutta: R. C. Lepage & Co., 1, Tank Square.

IT has often been noticed that, in the works of creation, along side of the bane is uniformly to be found the antidote. Of the truth of this remark the animal and vegetable kingdoms would at once furnish many striking illustrative examples. The evolutions of providence, in the history of individuals, societies and empires, would also supply their full quota of corroborative attestation. But it is in the kingdom of grace that the most conspicuous exemplifications may be found. Without trenching on the proper domain of a purely theological Review, may we not, in the interests of Literature, Science and Philosophy, boldly ask, when or where, during the last eighteen hundred years, has the poison of Infidelity insinuated itself in the shape of doubt, or cavil, or scoffing objection to the Bible as the only authoritative Revelation from God, without the healing balm or corrective being instantly provided, in the form of a cutting exposure, a triumphant reply, or fresh cumulative evidence of irresistible force?

At the beginning of last century, the frigid and withering Deism of Herbert, Hobbes, Blount, Galon, Toland, Shaftesbury, Collins, Woolston, Tindal, and Bolingbroke threatened not only to benumb, but utterly to consume the very life of Christianity, through the wide realms of Christendom. 'It has come,' wrote Bishop Butler in 1736, 'I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.' It was this light and deriding state of the public mind which evoked the immortal 'Analogy of Religion,' with its unanswered and unanswerable train of argument.

At a later period the more subtle and philosophical scepticism of Hume called forth the slashing exposures of Campbell, Beattie, and other redoubted champions of the faith; while Judge Hailes and other eminent men laid bare the historical sophistries and malicious sarcasms of Gibbon; and Paley abbreviated and popularised the massive and voluminous demonstrations of Lardner.

But it is needless to enlarge on this subject. Suffice it to say, that no sooner was a blow levelled at the credit of Revealed Religion from any quarter—whether directed by the keen philosophism of a Hume, or the low buffoonery of a Paine—than it was instantly parried, repelled, and made to recoil with deadly effect on the breast of him who aimed it. It was this uniform result, redounding to the honor and unshaken strength of Christianity, which prompted Dr. Gerard of Aberdeen, to write his admirable Dissertation, entitled '*Christianity confirmed by the opposition of Infidels.*' 'It is,' says he in his preface, 'by such friction as seems at first sight likely to break it, that the diamond is polished and receives its lustre. In like manner, it is by being fretted, as it were, that truth is made to shew the full brightness of its evidence. The trial distinguishes the true gem from the supposed one, which in the lump promised, perhaps, as fair as it. And plausible falsehoods are often as well received as real truths, till both have been subjected to an exact and severe examination; but the opposition of argument overturns the former, and renders the certainty of the latter more undeniable. No species of truth has been subjected to a stricter scrutiny, or tried by ruder opposition, than the evidences of our holy religion. As soon as this heavenly gem was presented to the world, both Jews and Heathens fell upon it with so great violence that, if it had had the smallest flaw, it must have been shattered into pieces. It has been in the possession of the world for many centuries; and numberless attempts have been successively made, to prove that it is a worthless counterfeit; but all these attempts have only contributed to evince with stronger evidence, that it is genuine.'

It is the truth of this assertion which our author undertakes calmly to examine, and by solid arguments to illustrate and establish. And what stronger proof could he have afforded of the truth and divinity of Christianity than this,—that the more various the lights in which it is viewed, the more narrowly it is inspected, the more violently it is assailed, the more scrutinizingly it is sifted down to the very foundations, by subtle and relentless foes, the more firmly is it found to be planted on a Rock, and the more gloriously does it shine forth in the effulgence of demonstrated heavenly verity? Still, for the Bible, with its high claims of Inspiration by God, there is no rest; and for it there can be no rest or peace, till instrumentally through its influence, sin is banished from the habitations and hearts of men. Accordingly, in our day, besides a mushroom crop of old exploded objections, decked out in harlequin and pantomimic attire for the million, the real or supposed revelations of Physical and Metaphysical

science have been marshalled in hostile array against the Inspired word of God. But already have the anti-christian Rationalisms and Pantheisms of Germany met with merited rebuke and valid confutation from some of Germany's ablest sons; while the anti-Biblical misapplications of Physical Science, in France, Great Britain, and America, have been as deservedly rebuked and mercilessly exposed by men of learning and science, who glory in proclaiming their unwavering faith in the Oracles of God.

Scientific objections, formerly limited to the learned few, have of late been reduced into simple and compendious forms adapted to the tastes and capacities of the unlearned many, and hurled promiscuously into the multitudinous streams and streamlets of our popular literature. The results of recondite research, stripped of the cumbrous and prolix processes, by which they may have been reached, and which would be unintelligible to the multitude, are thus everywhere propagated, as if they were so many aphorisms or axioms of indisputable authority. And as English Education, apart from Revealed Religion, spreads in India, popular English Literature, tainted and polluted with the leaven of an insidious infidelity, is sure to gain increasing currency in educated native circles, and acquire, if not arrested, in time a preponderant ascendancy in their minds.

It was, therefore, a seasonable thought on the part of Archdeacon Pratt—a gentleman, well known to be thoroughly at home in the very highest walks of science generally, and especially demonstrative science—to take up the popularized scientific objections of the day against the Divine authority of Scripture, and answer them in forms, at once brief and level with the popular understanding. Nor has the thought been more seasonably conceived than felicitously executed. That such is the judgment of the reading public in England is clear from the fact that, within a short period of time, it has gone through *four* editions. The fourth edition, brought out within the last few months, is now before us, considerably enlarged and improved. Its contents are designedly of a miscellaneous character. It was not intended to be an original or exhaustive treatise on any one subject. It is purposely of the nature of a *portable Manual* of popular objections and answers on the subject of Scripture and Science. But, let it not be supposed, that, on this account, it is either flimsy or superficial in its texture or reasonings. On the contrary, it is the product of a mind profoundly conversant with the subjects treated of—a mind, therefore, capable of brushing aside all crudities, accessaries and irrelevances,—capable of seizing, at once, on the very pith and heart of each objection in succession, and of exposing its hollowness and deformity by

the touch of the Ithuriel spear of truth. It is impossible, carefully and candidly to peruse the volume, without feeling, at every step, that the reader is in the hands of a master. The very simplicity and translucency of its unadorned diction will be found only an additional proof of the writer's thorough comprehension of his subject, and of the perfect ease with which he can successfully grapple with it.

We think it due to the Author that he himself should be allowed to explain the *object* and *plan* of his treatise. This he does in an introduction which we here give entire :—

‘The assertion, not unfrequently made, that the discoveries of Science are opposed to the declarations of Holy Scripture is as mischievous as it is false, because it tends both to call in question the Inspiration of the Sacred Volume and to throw discredit upon scientific pursuits.

Many, however, who are predisposed to reject such a conclusion, from a general conviction that Scripture is the Word of God, are nevertheless at a loss for arguments to repel the charge. It is the object of the following pages to furnish such persons with a reply, in a concise and portable form. The Treatise, therefore, is intentionally only a summary of arguments. To expand it, except by the addition of new illustrations, would defeat my design. A larger work would not find access where I hope this will.

There are others also whose case it is here designed to meet—those who receive the Christian Revelation, but, under the influence of supposed difficulties brought to light by scientific discovery, are tempted to abandon the Earlier Portion of the Sacred Volume as not inspired. It is possible that the unbeliever may find something in these pages to soften his prejudices; but his case is not here specially contemplated.

My Treatise is, therefore, of the defensive kind. It is intended to show how difficulties are to be met and objections removed. Some hesitate as to the expediency of putting such books indiscriminately into the hands of the young, thinking them calculated to engender doubts where they never existed, and to create the very scepticism which they were intended to rebut. There is some weight in this; and, no doubt, were the mind never likely in after life to encounter the false views of sceptics, it might be far better to leave it untainted. If the young could always be fenced around by truth, till its principles became so thoroughly infused into their minds and hearts as to make error innocuous when they go out into the wide world, to leave them ignorant of the different forms of doubt and unbelief till circumstances force them upon their notice, might be the better course. But it is next to impossible to protect them, even when under the wisest guidance, from becoming acquainted with, if not imbibing some of the mischief, which a refined scepticism—especially regarding the historical character and full inspiration of the Holy Scripture—is spreading far and wide through the press and other channels. If the hesitation regarding the propriety of teaching these things to the young arise from a dislike to see old and *primâ facie* interpretations upset, such a course is most dangerous. By maintaining false and exploded interpretations as true, we are sowing in the minds of the young seeds of a future revulsion which is likely to injure them far more than the introduction of the new views at an earlier stage could possibly do. There can be no question that the safest course is conscientiously to teach the young the whole truth without reserve, not shrinking from stating in a plain

and open manner the various objections and difficulties they will hear broached, explaining to them at the same time in what spirit and by what kind of argument they should be met.

The fact is, that sceptics and semi-sceptics are, unwittingly or not, undermining the faith of many in Scripture by subtle arguments drawn from the apparent contradictions between Scripture and Science. Against this it is necessary to provide an antidote: and the better fortified our youth are in their earlier days, the better prepared will they be to contend for the truth in after life. It is not the Christian, but the worldly philosopher who has raised these questions. But having raised them, he forces the advocates of Scriptural truth to enter upon the contest, and to meet him on his own ground, that they may put a weapon of defence in the hands of those whose faith is in danger of being shaken.

In the First Chapter I bring the experience of the past to bear upon the subject, by showing how many examples history supplies in which from time to time Scripture and Science have appeared to be in irreconcilable conflict, but further light has cleared up all difficulty. From this I argue, that it is in the highest degree *unphilosophical*, whenever new difficulties arise in these days of discovery, to doubt that these also will be cleared up as light and knowledge advance. The experience of the past should encourage us fearlessly to carry our investigations into the phenomena of nature, fully persuaded that no real discrepancy can ever be in the end established. The above may be regarded as a negative argument.

In the Second Chapter I enter upon an examination of the character and contents of the earlier portion of the Book of Genesis; as it is in this part of the Sacred Volume that the seeds of strife between Scripture and Science are supposed chiefly to lie. By what I cannot but regard as an unanswerable proof of the historical character and plenary inspiration of these Early Chapters, and by a reference to their important bearing in various eminent particulars, I establish a positive argument, and show that it is *impossible* that Scripture, proceeding as it does from Divine Inspiration, and manifesting such superhuman wisdom and foreknowledge, can, when rightly interpreted, be at variance with the Works of the Divine Hand; and that therefore, if difficulties remain at any time not cleared up, they must arise from our ignorance, or from hasty interpretation either of the phenomena before us or of the language of the Sacred Record.

The results of this investigation are then summed up, and the conclusion drawn,—that no new discoveries, however startling they may appear at first, need disturb our belief in the Plenary Inspiration of the Sacred Volume or damp our ardour in the pursuit of Science.

It will be seen from the above sketch, that it is not necessary for the validity of my argument that every instance of apparent discrepancy between Scripture and Science shall have met with an explanation. It requires only, that so many instances of the successful removal of difficulties, which at one time appeared to be insurmountable, should be adduced, as to assure the mind under new perplexities, that there is every reason to believe that in time these also will vanish. The primary object of the Treatise is, not to solve present difficulties, but to create confidence in the mind, while in perplexity regarding them, that all will in the end be right, and that the harmony of Scripture and Science *cannot* really be broken, though it may for a time seem to be disturbed. In point of fact, however, I know of no alleged or apparent discrepancy between Scripture and Science which cannot be met by a decisive or at least satisfactory answer. The chief examples I have brought together in the following pages, and made them the groundwork of my argument. Had I known of any existing unanswered difficulty,

I should now have brought it forward as an illustration of the use of my principle. Had, for example, the astounding announcement of M. Bunsen and Mr. Leonard Horner, that the age of the human race is many thousands of years older than the Scripture narrative makes it, not yet met with a reply, I should have produced it,—not, as in the present edition, doing homage to my argument, but as an example of the principle I have set forth, that we should wait, fortified by the experience of the past, and by an immovable belief in the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and feel assured that time would turn objections into proofs, and discrepancy into harmony."

Such, then, is the Author's object and plan—an object truly noble in its aim, and a plan skilfully executed. In vindicating the harmony between Science and Scripture by an appeal to the history of the past, the examples, adduced for illustration, are thus classified :—

1. 'Examples, from the Earlier History of Scientific discovery, in which Scripture has been relieved of false interpretations, and the harmony of Scripture and Science thereby re-established.

The Firmament—Antipodes—The Earth a Globe—The Motion of the Earth.

2. Examples, from the later History of Science, in which Scripture has not only been relieved of false interpretations, but has had new light reflected upon it from the discoveries of Science.

The Antiquity of the Earth—Creatures in existence before the Six Days—Existence of light before the Six Days—Death in the World before Adam's Fall—Specific Centres of Creation—No known traces of the Deluge—The Deluge probably not over the whole earth.

3. Examples, in which Science has been delivered from the conclusions of some of its votaries, and thereby shown to be in entire agreement with Scripture.

All men of one blood—Differences of nations since the Flood—Mankind originally of one language—Age of the human race according to Hindoo Astronomy—to Egyptian Antiquities—and to Nile-deposits—The six days' creation not confined to Paradise—The origin of species.'

Having concluded his negative argument by demonstrating the invalidity of objections the Author next proceeds positively to exhibit '*the historical character, plenary Inspiration, and surpassing importance of the first eleven chapters of Genesis,*'

After having delated, in his usual lucid strain, on the various topics included under these heads, he winds up by asking,—

'What, then, are the results arrived at in the foregoing pages? They may be summed up under the following heads :—

1. That, through ignorance and hasty zeal, Holy Scripture has undergone many severe tests during the progress of Science, and has come through the trial in every case with triumph. The experience of the past has worked out this result, that through the whole course of philosophical discovery, Scripture and Science have never been found at variance, though they have often been charged with being so.

2. That Scripture speaks in human language, and according to its usages; but in no case adopts the errors and prejudices of men, even in things natural. It speaks to us on such matters according to the appearances of things, that is, as things ARE SEEN, which is a way intelligible in all ages of the world. It speaks as man would speak to man in every-day life, even

on such topics, and in times of the greatest scientific light. It speaks not scientifically, and therefore does not adopt scientific terms, or give scientific views of things: but there is, nevertheless, no sacrifice even of scientific truth to human ignorance and prejudice.

3. That this harmony between Scripture and Science appears, not only from the abundant illustration it receives from the history of past conflicts through which the Sacred Volume has passed intact, but pre-eminently from the character of Scripture itself as the Inspired Word of God, and, therefore, infallible in every respect.

4. That the Earlier Chapters of the Sacred Volume, in which the seeds of variance have been supposed to lie, are of inestimable value to us; and the fact of their Inspiration must not be set aside on the pretence that Christianity would remain the same if they were blotted out; for they form a most important portion of the Divine Revelation, and convey inspired truths of the highest moment.

The grand conclusion, drawn from the whole, even in these days of advancing knowledge, is this, *'that no new discoveries, however startling, need disturb our belief in the plenary Inspiration of Scripture, or damp our zeal in the pursuit of Science.'*

Our main subject being to introduce the work to the favourable notice of our readers, we have neither space nor scope for any lengthened critical remarks. With the tone and spirit which pervade it throughout we cordially sympathise. It is genial and kindly, without being slobbered with the mawkishness of a simpering sentimentalism. It is courteous and gentlemanly even towards unscrupulous antagonists, while yet unweakened by the compromises of a spurious liberality. It is fearless and inflexible in its maintenance of the sacredness and authority, the plenary inspiration and infallibility of Jehovah's Holy Oracles, without stooping to the hackneyed phraseology of acrimonious controversy, or degenerating into the fierce and fiery invectives of resentful partizanship. With his mode of conducting the argumentative parts of the discussion we are equally pleased. It is characterized by fairness, candour and straight-forwardness. It shirks nothing; it evades no attack; it glosses over no difficulty. And yet in every instance, the objection, presented in its fullest force, is either effectually parried or triumphantly refuted.

The only case in which we might slightly demur, is our Author's treatment of the Mosaic Deluge. Of late, Dr. Pye Smith, Hugh Miller and other men of undoubted science and piety, have cut the tangled and intricate knot of manifold difficulties, by adopting the theory of a Partial Deluge; and our Author appears not disinclined to the adoption of the same view—taking special care, at the same time, to shew that it meets all the absolute requirements of the Mosaic Record. We confess, however, that we are not yet quite prepared to

abandon the universality of the Deluge, according to the most obvious interpretation of scripture language. Geologically considered, the gradual submergence and subsequent emergence of whole continents is not incompatible with the past history of our globe and its stupendous cataclysms, as recorded in the testimony of the Rocks. And to the Arm of Omnipotence the greater miracle is as easy of accomplishment as the less. Doubtless to the poor bewildered vision of Human Science, yet wrapped in its swaddling bands, formidable difficulties do present themselves. But even these admit of a possible if not probable solution. And if they did not, we would rather insist on the yet unsettled and immature state of the Natural Sciences chiefly concerned, and wait till their inductions and generalizations approximated to something like certainty. Geological theories, in particular, have hitherto too much resembled Bishop Berkeley's ghosts of evanescent quantities; they seem as if framed for startling people in the dark, and then disappearing like 'the baseless fabric of a vision.' In our own day, the celebrated author of the '*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*' lived to renounce his former views on the subject of his great work, and to recall it. The famous theory of Sir Charles Lyell, and other eminent geologists, which gave the designations of Eocene, Miocene, and Pleiocene to the several divisions of the upper Tertiary period, has, by recent more accurate observation and discovery, been shaken to its base. While, therefore, unhesitatingly recognising the leading facts presented by geological science, we cannot accept many of the doctrines founded thereon by geologists as *demonstrated truths*. They are as yet, to a great extent, only plausible inferences, or merely probable deductions, often based on, or interlinked with, ingenious assumptions, rather than *ascertained or actually verified conclusions*. And amid such scientific uncertainties, we deem it, on the whole, more philosophic to wait for further light, ere we finally relinquish our old belief in the universality of the Mosaic Deluge.

In some other instances, not only has the objection been shewn by our author, to be utterly groundless, but it has been rendered tributary to confirming the literal truth of Scripture.

For example, how often has the Mosaic account of the confusion of tongues been made the subject of profane ridicule? How often has the variety of languages been alleged to be so great, and their differences of character so wide, that it is inconceivable that mankind should ever have been of 'one language and of one speech?' Now what has been the result of the most searching philological inquiries on the subject? 'Baron von Humbolt,' says our author, 'the Academy of St. Petersburg,

Menon, Klaproth, and Frederic Schlegel, have all come to one conclusion, by a comparison of languages, that the further philological inquiry has been carried, the more numerous are the indications that *all languages must have been originally one.* Nor is this all. 'While the numerous languages which have been examined, and which were at one time thought to have almost nothing in common, are found to be closely allied to each other in grammatical construction, when belonging to the same family, at the same time philologists have decided, that the families have such differences as no principle of ordinary growth or expansion from a common origin can account for.' Accordingly, Herder, Sharon Turner, Abel-Remusat, Niebuhr, Balbi, and other Linguists have come to the conclusion, that 'there are evident internal proofs that the separation into different tongues must have been by *some violent and sudden cause*,—and that 'nothing but a violent change, caused by some force from without, can have created the distinct differences which now exist, if these families are the broken fragments of a once undivided whole.' In other words, in the deliberate judgment of the most renowned philologists, the actual existing phenomena of language demand the intervention of some such violent change as that of the Babel catastrophe, in order adequately to account for them! How singularly then, do 'all the results of investigation which can be considered of scientific value tend to support, and illustrate the scriptural account of the miraculous confusion of languages which led to the dispersion of the descendants of Noah upon the face of the earth!'

This leads us to remark, what we have often thought, that the preternatural occurrence at Babel is not only sufficient to account for *the diversity of language* but also, for *the diversity of race.*

Anatomically, physiologically, intellectually and morally, the race of man has often been proved by Prichard, Smythe and others to be but one. And our author has, with his wonted condensing power, furnished a brief but clear summary of the facts and arguments which go to prove the consistency of all existing varieties with original unity of race. Still, granting the physical possibility of all men being from one original stock, and making all due allowance for the potency of climatic and other influences, in modifying the human constitution, it has been questioned, whether, according to Scripture chronology, there was a sufficient time for bringing about the radical changes which are known, from the old Egyptian monuments and paintings, to have existed at least within a thousand years of the Deluge. The ordinary considerations adduced by our

author are enough to blunt the edge, if not wholly remove the difficulty. To these he has also added one, which is too often forgotten, viz., 'that it is a mistake to assume, that the population of the earth began again from a *new single centre* after the Deluge. Eight persons repeopled the earth. There is no evidence that Shem, Ham and Japhet had not in them elements differing as wide as the Asiatic, the African, and the European differ from each other. They may have married too into different (antediluvian) tribes, and their wives have been as diversified as themselves. It is, then, altogether gratuitous to assert, that the races, which now exist, must be traced down from one man Noah, as from a new starting point. This at once carries our range of time, 1,700 years further back, to the days of Adam, for the operation of the causes of change; and the objection is entirely removed.'

If, however, the aggregate of these considerations and suggestions do not satisfy the determined doubter; if anything be thought by some to be still wanting to complete the chain of counter-evidence; may it not be found, fairly and legitimately, in the direct and preternatural exertion of Divine Power at Babel? One avowed object of the congregated host of rebels was to defeat the divine purpose of dispersion over the face of the earth. One grand object of the confusion of tongues was to effectuate and expedite that dispersion. And as the Almighty never does anything by halves, are we not warranted to infer, that, besides the immediate change in the organs of speech, there were then miraculously impressed on the human frame such other constitutional peculiarities as might rapidly issue in those diversities of complexion and structure which constitute the different varieties of race, and which were indispensable to adapt these varieties to the several zoological provinces respectively occupied by them? This additional consideration we would, though with all diffidence, recommend to the attention of our excellent author, in the event of a new edition of his admirable treatise being soon called for.

On the compatibility of the vast and unknown antiquity of the globe, as unfolded by geological science, with the rency of the Adamic creation as recorded by Moses, our author's remarks are just and conclusive. In common with all enlightened expositors of our day, he regards the first verse of *Genesis* as a distinct and independent sentence, in which we have a sublime announcement of the first fiat of the Creator in calling matter into existence; and a solemn protest, by anticipation, against the Atheistic doctrine of the eternity of matter, as well as against the Pantheistic doctrine of deduction or emanation

from the substance of Deity. This primary and absolute origination of the material universe, is, by the Inspired Seer, declared to have been 'in the beginning;' but *when* that 'beginning' was, is not told. For aught that the record contains it may have been numberless ages anterior to the detailed operations, subsequently described,—thus leaving a period of indefinite length for endless geological revolutions and catastrophes between the original act of creation and the last organization of the elements for the abode of man. This happy reconciliation of the demands of geological science with a fair interpretation of the Mosaic narrative, was, in our day, first suggested by Dr. Chalmers, in a Review of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, which was contributed to the Edinburgh Christian Instructor as far back as 1814. On his part, this view of the opening verse of Genesis, now all but universally adopted, was the intuition of a profound sagacity.

The view, however, though original, as respects Dr. Chalmers himself, and the world at large when he first propounded it, is not, in reality, *new*. In meeting the cavils of objectors, who are ever apt to allege, that new interpretations are forced upon us merely to save the credit of the Inspired Volume, it is interesting, and, indeed, extremely important to observe, as a well known Lecturer has well remarked, how 'the early Fathers of the Christian Church should seem to have entertained precisely similar views; for St. Gregory Nazianzen, after St. Justin Martyr, supposes an *indefinite period* between the creation and the first ordering of all things. St. Basil, St. Cæsarius, and Origen are much more explicit.' To these might be added Augustine, Theodoret, Episcopius, and others, whose remarks imply the existence of a considerable interval 'between the the creation related in the first verse of Genesis, and that of which an account is given in the third and following verses.' In modern times, but *long before* geology became a Science, the independent character of the opening sentence of Genesis was affirmed by such judicious and learned men as Calvin, Bishop Patrick, and Dr. David Jennings.

Might not important facts like these, in a new edition of our author's work, be advantageously noticed, either in the text itself, or in a foot note?

On the most vexed question of all, that of the six demi-urgic days, our author's trumpet gives no uncertain sound. Most of our Scientific Bible Reconcilers have considered these days as geologic periods of unknown length. Not so our Author. Against this view he stoutly contends. In his judgment—a judgment in which we cordially concur—the first chapter of

Genesis, does not pretend (as has been generally assumed) to be a cosmogony, or an account of the original creation of the Material Universe. The only cosmogony which it contains, in that sense at least, is confined to the sublime declaration in the first verse, *In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* The Inspired Record, then stepping over an interval of indefinite ages, with which we have no direct concern, proceeds at once to narrate the events preparatory to the introduction of man on the scene, employing phraseology strictly faithful to the appearances which would have met the eye of man, could he have been a spectator on the earth of what passed during those six days.'

According to this view of the subject, the six days are six ordinary natural days, measured, like any other natural days, by the revolution of the earth on its axis. The grand objection to this literal interpretation of the 'days' was the supposed geological discovery of 'multitudes of pré-Adamite fossils in the Upper or Tertiary Strata, which are precisely the same as species now in existence.' At length, however, the late M. D'Orbigny, after an elaborate examination of prodigious numbers of fossils, 'has demonstrated that there have been *at least twenty-nine* distinct periods of animal and vegetable existence, that is, twenty-nine creations separated one from another by catastrophes, which have swept away the species existing at the time, with a very few solitary exceptions, never exceeding one and a half per cent. of the whole number discovered, which have either survived the catastrophe, or have been erroneously designated. But *not a single species of the preceding period survived the last of these catastrophes*; and this closed the Tertiary and ushered in the Human Period.' In other words, 'between the termination of the last or Tertiary Period and the commencement of the Human or Recent Period, there is a complete break. Although five in every seven genera are the same in the recent as in the previous period—there is *not a single species common to the two periods*. Thus the difficulty wholly evanishes'.

What an additional proof is this of the assertion already made, that Geology is still but in its infancy; and that many of its vaunted conclusions are no more than unverified hypotheses? We confess we never liked the Period-day theory and could never see our way to an intelligent adhesion to it. Before adopting it as a final and satisfactory solution of the difficulty, we preferred to pause and wait for further light. That light has now happily dawned; or rather shone upon us, through the decisive demonstrations of M. D'Orbigny; and we are

now enabled to plead the latest and most accurate results of Scientific investigation in favour of the six days, as six natural days, of the creative and formative work of which, the seventh, or sabbath is the rightly fitting periodical commemoration.

In connection with this subject our author has been led to notice and expose some of the 'hazardous assertions' so groundlessly made by two of the writers in the new, strangely and unworthily celebrated volume of 'Oxford Essays and Reviews;' as well as their unfairness or disingenuousness, if not down-right dishonesty towards himself. By actual quotations he has shewn that the late Professor Baden Powell, in his unhappy zeal against the authority of Divine Revelation, has *made him say the very reverse of what he did say*;—and that Mr. Goodwin also has inexcusably mistaken and misrepresented some of his most clearly enunciated views. Of the volume, containing these mistakes and mis-statements with a thousand others still more pernicious, the less said the better; in itself it is not assuredly any thing very formidable. Quite the contrary. It is in sober and sad reality, one of the poorest, dreariest, driest, dullest, most incoherent and inconsequential products of the mint of modern infidelity. From beginning to end we have not been able to detect in it a single sentiment, statement, train of argument, inference, conjecture, or even gratuitous averment that has the remotest title or pretention to originality. It is neither more nor less than *an unskilfully hashed-up and imperfectly re-heated medley of the stale and oft-refuted sophisms and perversions of the English Deists, French Encyclopedists, and German Neologians*;

We are glad to find the author, in a valuable 'Postscript' added to this edition, dealing out some heavy and even smashing blows at the late Baron Bunsen and other Egyptologers of his rationalizing school;—men, who, with fatuous inconsistency, evermore evince the most senseless scepticism relative to the credit and authority of the Mosaic History—beyond all measure the most multifariously authenticated record of all Antiquity—while they evince an equally senseless credulity relative to some obscure, mutilated, contradictory fragments of the heathen Manetho, and some slender hieroglyphic skeletons of names 'half-guessed at and half decyphered by a doubtful means of interpretation.'

There are other subjects on which we would fain make some remarks—more especially the latest spawn of a thinly disguised Infidelity, Darwin's *Origin of Species*, with its 'struggle for existence' hypothesis and its 'Natural Selection' surmise, on which our author has favoured us with some very judicious

comments. But our space is fairly exhausted and we must pause. If any further evidence were wanted to prove the divinity of the Mosaic account of the creation, it might be found in the contrast which it presents to all the cosmogonies of heathen nations, unfavoured by the light of Inspiration. Let any intelligent reader open the Institutes of Manu or the Vishnu Puran, and compare, rather contrast the cosmogonies so minutely and elaborately wrought out there in defiance of science and common sense, with the simple, compendious and sublime narrative of Moses, and we venture to affirm that, after a careful and candid perusal, he will be more than ever disposed, with reference to the latter, to exclaim, 'Verily the finger of God is here.'

With our author we now part, under a confirmed persuasion that in his work on 'Scripture and Science not at variance' he has rendered good service to the cause of Biblical truth. To all Christian heads of families, to all Christian managers and teachers of schools, we, therefore, earnestly recommend his most interesting and precious volume. Some of the objections therein exposed they may never hear of as actually urged; and others may be regarded as too contemptible to merit a serious hearing. But let it be remembered that the volume of Archdeacon Pratt is purposely of the nature of a *miscellany*—representing the thoughts, the whimsies, the speculative conjectures, and the crude unverified hypotheses of different and even antagonistic schools of infidelity. Such a volume, therefore, ought to be kept in every private and public Library, as an armoury of weapons wherewith to repel the onslaught of old objections, and a magazine of examples illustrative of the most successful modes of resisting the aggression of new ones.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JUNE 1861.

- ART. I.—1. *Selections from the Records of Government Papers relating to the Reforms of the Police of India, 1861.*
2. *Act No. 5, of 1861.* Passed by the Legislative Council of India.
3. *Report upon British Burmah.* By R. Temple, Esq., and Lieut.-Col. H. Bruce, 1860.

THAT the question of Police Reform has of late engaged so largely the attention and occupied to such an extent the thoughts of our legislators, is not to be wondered at, when we consider the great importance of the subject, and the vast influence that a right solution of the question must exercise, not only upon the present, but also on the future condition of our Indian Empire. One of the great results of the storm which recently swept over India, and of the transfer of the reins of Government from the 'Company' to the Crown, has been the recognition, to a certain extent, of the power of public opinion, and the gradually strengthening belief, that the voice of the people has a right to be heard, and that those who pay taxes should have a share, however small, in giving laws to the empire. With what contempt such an idea would have been received only a few years back, by the Civilian governing class in India, we need not pause to point out. Certain it is, that the men, who in former days were contemptuously looked down upon as 'interlopers,' and who were only tolerated in the company's territories as long as they were not disagreeably troublesome, are now

beginning to feel their strength and to make themselves heard. And in proportion as their right to do so is conceded, and their position is recognised, will India become attractive to European Settlers, and will draw to her ample bosom a band of colonists, who, in their efforts to enrich themselves, will confer a tenfold benefit upon the land of their adoption. Already from the homes of civilization, and the great marts of commerce in the far West, the restless Anglo-Saxon is looking out across the Eastern seas to the plain of Hindostan, for a field wherein to expend his inexhaustible energy and his unemployed capital. But if we are willing that he should not look in vain, if we desire to allure to our shores men with wealth to invest and enterprise to direct its investment, as well as some of their poorer, though equally hard-working brethren, we must take care that the country to which we invite them, is one where their lives will be safe from attack, and their property from plunder; where, away from the centres of civilization, on the slopes of the distant hills, or on the plains and in the jungles of the rural districts, to which doubtless many would direct their steps, they can live secure from the alarm of robbers and the murmurs of rebellion, to give their undivided attention to the development of the resources, and improvement of the cultivation of their estates. Such a state of tranquillity can only be secured by good laws, given by a wise Government, and enforced and upheld by a well organized and trustworthy machinery. That a good police forms a most important part of such a machinery no one will deny, and thus we arrive again at the point from which we started, that the subject of Police Reform is of the highest importance to the future of this magnificent empire. We propose in the following pages to give a very brief history of the steps which have led to the present prominence of this question before Government, of the progress that has been made and is making, and the results that have already been achieved.

The reform of our police administration had long been before successive Governments of India. All united in condemning the existing systems, but for a long period no serious effort appears to have been made to improve them. At last however Sir Charles Napier, after his conquest of Scinde, boldly set aside the forbodings of those, who, clinging to ancient traditions, prophesied the failure of any deviation from the time-honoured grooves of past ages and applying to the newly acquired province the principles of police he had learned and tested in England, he gave to Scinde the first good police we ever had in India. The success which has attended its working, and

the fact that to the present day it remains in all material principles of composition, organization and action, the same as when it came from the hand of the great Scinde Administrator, proves how well he was justified in his determination and how entirely he appreciated the wants and requirements of the people he governed.

The next reform was made in Bombay. In 1848 we find the Honorable Mr., afterwards Sir George, Clerk recording his opinion that 'the police throughout the presidency is on a footing, in several respects, most unsatisfactory.' This, to say the least of it, is a very mild exposition of the extremely useless and inefficient state of the Bombay police as then existing; but a reference to his minute on the subject, and a consideration of the facts he adduces in support of his views, will show the reader that nothing could possibly have been worse; that in 10 Zillahs upwards of 7000 cases of gang and high-way robbery, burglary, and cattle-stealing occurred in one year, thirty of which were attended with murder, and that the influence of the police either in the prevention or detection of crime was next to nothing.

The remedy he proposed, and which, after some time, was sanctioned by the Court of Directors, and adopted, was to follow to a certain extent the great principle of the separation of police from magisterial functions, which Sir C. Napier had first initiated in Scinde, and to place the police of each Zillah under a separate officer, who was to be subordinate to the magistrate, and under him to devote his whole attention to its control and working. Subsequently, we think in 1855, a Commissioner of Police at the seat of Government was authorised, who exercised control not only over the police-officers above referred to, but also over the magistrates themselves, in all matters relating to police administration and action.

Soon after these changes had been carried out in Bombay, an inquiry, the fame of which has spread over Europe, was set on foot in Madras, and in 1855, the report of the celebrated 'Torture Commission' reduced to a certainty the long entertained fears and suspicions of all thinking Europeans in India, while it filled with dismay the hearts of those mild philanthropists at home, who believed we were faithfully fulfilling our mission amongst the heathen, and putting forth by the beneficence of our rule in the east, the best possible advertisement of the benefits of civilization and the blessings of Christianity. One of the witnesses examined before this Commission gives it as his carefully formed opinion of the Mofussil police, that 'it has become the bane and the pest of society, the

'terror of the community, and the origin of half the misery and discontent that exists among the subjects of Government. Corruption and bribery reign paramount throughout the whole establishment: violence, torture and cruelty are their chief instruments for detecting crime, implicating innocence, or 'extorting money'—And this opinion the Commission deliberately adopted and put forth, as the enunciation of their own sentiments. After this terrible description we are not surprised to learn, that in the Madras presidency there occurred in 1854, no fewer than 1724 gang robberies, of which 481 were attended with aggravating circumstances.

To Lord Harris was due the credit of exposing the horrors of this monstrous evil, and to him also belongs the merit of an immediate and successful remedy. He lost no time in proposing a thorough and radical change of the whole police system of the presidency, persevered in carrying out the change in spite of the opposition of conflicting opinions, and the obstacles and delays which were the inevitable accompaniments of the Mutiny, and saw the complete triumph of his ideas, and the entire adoption of his plan, in the Act, XXIV of 1859, which contained the police bill for the territories subject to the Governor of Fort St. George. The success which has already attended the introduction of this new police, and many interesting details of its system, and of the favourable reception it has met with at the hands of the rural population, were very recently related in an article in this Review.

We have seen the wave of Police Reform, taking its rise in Scinde and following the coast line, spread over the Bombay presidency. Passing round Cape Comorin it fertilised the plains and table lands of Southern India and the Deccan and rolled onwards till it reached the mouth of the Ganges. But here its progress was stayed. In Bengal much had been thought, much had been spoken and much written, but nothing had been done. The police of the Bengal presidency were acknowledged on all hands to be the worst in India. They are described in a paper read by Lieut. Col. Kennedy in March 1859, at the United Service Institution in London, as freebooters, whose only vocation was to plunder the people they were supposed to protect. Lieut. Governor after Lieut. Governor had condemned them as utterly destitute of morality and wanting in efficiency; one Lieut. Governor writes, 'throughout the length and the breadth of the land, the strong prey almost universally on the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money.' One would have supposed that the evil being felt to be so enormous, and the advantages to be derived from its

suppression so obvious, more earnest endeavours would have been made to introduce a happier state of things. It was not only a moral but a financial evil. Sir C. Trevelyan gives expression to his opinion thus: 'If real protection of life and property were established there,' (in Bengal) 'by the formation of an efficient police, and the people were ruled quietly and prudently, with all our power, the magnificent valley of the Ganges alone would yield more than the present revenue of the whole of British India.' Nor was the police of the North West Provinces much, if at all better. The disease was felt to be universal as to locality and mortal in its effects. Yet no one was found bold enough to come forward and apply the only remedy that could prove efficacious, the eradication of the whole system and its agents, and the introduction of a new and healthful organization.

Something more powerful, than the reports of amelioration in Bombay, and the echo of the cries for reform in Madras, was required, ere the people of Bengal and the N. W. P. should be delivered from the intolerably oppressive police, under whom they groaned. That something came at last in the grand crash of the mutiny, and as the tempest spread, and district after district in upper India was submerged in the irresistible flood, the regular police melted away like snow drifts before the southern breeze, and was either seen no more, or reappeared amongst the ranks of the mutineers to urge on their fury and incite it to acts of unparalleled atrocity. In the day of trial their cowardice, their corruption and their treachery were found to be equal, and the men who had been specially appointed as the conservators of law and order, were the first to join the cry for universal anarchy, and to add their forces to the multitude that endeavoured to subvert both.

The storm swept past, the atmosphere began to clear; district after district, emerging from chaos, again acknowledged the Anglo-Saxon ruler, and returned to the easy servitude of a well organized and well administered government, and again in upper India the old police, if not in the same persons, at least in the same system and retaining the same effete character, was restored to its old haunts. But together with it, forming a duplicate police administration, and devouring incredible sums of the sadly diminished finances, was found, both in the N. W. P. and in Bengal, another power which the exigencies of the times had called into being, and which, as it had been a means of protection during the times of trouble, threatened now in the times of peace, to be the cause of utter ruin to the country. This power was the military police.

While the storm lasted every nerve was strained, as might have been expected, to arrest its fury. To the Englishman it was a matter of life and death. Men fighting for their lives are not likely to question the policy of the means taken to preserve them, nor to scrutinize at the time their costliness. Money was plentiful and supervision over its expenditure had ceased to be exercised. Half the officials in India urged on by every variety of motive, private, personal, political, or public, conceived that their chief, if not only mission on earth, was to organize a regiment of Irregulars, or raise a body of horse; and the result was what we have seen.

Hordes of military police and local levies, whose name was Legion, and whose aggregate numerical strength has, probably, never been accurately known to any one, had grown up in every district, pervaded every town and patrolled every high way, and bid fair, if allowed to remain undisturbed, to become as great a source of anxiety in the future, as the pretorian sepoys had proved in the past, while, for the time being they consumed the revenue of country, and contributed no inconsiderable impetus to the forces which were hurrying the coach of state along the broad and easy road leading to insolvency. Such was the state of police affairs in Bengal and the N. W. P., when the late lamented Mr. Wilson arrived in India, and, as we shall shortly see, that great financier was not slow to discover the root of the evil, and to apply himself to provide a sure, and, we believe, a successful remedy.

But before proceeding to consider what this remedy was, we must ask our readers to turn aside with us for a short time, and see what was being enacted in another Province. Lucknow was no sooner taken from the rebels in March 1858, than the Chief Commissioner of Oudh directed that immediate steps should be taken for the formation of an armed police. The promptitude of this action, and the extraordinary energy with which the officer to whom the task was entrusted, carried out his orders, soon bore their legitimate fruit. Regiment after regiment was formed, organized, drilled, clothed, armed and prepared for service, and by the month of October, 1858, the ranks of the Oudh police numbered 13,000 men, who on many occasions in the field proved the excellence of their rapid organization and training.

The country was then being slowly wrested, step by step, from the rebels. And as the purely military forces of the Commander-in-Chief advanced, their places were taken up by detachments of the military police, who thus prevented the return of the insurgents, and enabled the civil officers to restore the civil administration. The thanahs were re peopled with the old thanahdars

and burkundazes, who emerged from their hiding places, or deserted from the rebel ranks, as they saw the hopes of successful resistance disappearing, and the prospect of re-employment under the Government brightening in the horizon. In a short time the same incubus that oppressed the N. W. P., the double police, would have settled down upon Oudh, and added another outlet to the drain on her already exhausted finances. Sir R. Montgomery, however, with his usual prompt decision, came to the rescue, and in December 1858, before the last band of rebels was driven in confusion over the Raptée, had issued his orders that henceforth there should be but *one* police in Oudh, a police which, while it conducted the ordinary police duties of prevention and detection of crime, would, at the same time, be strong enough to protect the peaceably disposed inhabitants, and would put down with a vigorous arm all attempts at outrage and plunder.

The thanadars and their satellites were quietly discharged, and the newly organized police, assuming their civil functions became from henceforth the only police of the Province. In the Police Report of Oudh for the year 1859, in allusion to this transition we find the following sentence. 'A hypothetical case of 20 Regiments of British Infantry turned over for civil employ for a police in Ireland, will hardly give an adequate idea of the task which devolved upon the officers of the Oudh Police.' Had the writer said 'French Infantry' instead of 'British' we believe he would have been still nearer the mark, for the regiments of military police to which the civil duties were now made over, consisted in some districts, almost entirely of Seikhs, and Punjabees, unacquainted with the language and indifferent to the manners and habits of the people. Some of us can remember the opposition which this scheme met with, and have not forgotten how speedy and hopeless failure amidst 'shouts of derisive laughter' was confidently prophesied as its inevitable fate. No one will now venture to deny the wisdom which planned and the bold decision which gave execution to the measure. The Oudh police has been a great success. It is notorious that there is not in the whole of our Indian Empire, a Province where the law is more respected, and where the crimes which were formerly so rife have been so speedily and so effectually repressed. Dacoity, previously the bane of the province, is almost unknown, and, if we except those mysterious supposed murders in one particular district, which have hitherto baffled not only the vigilance of the still unpractised police, but the skill of the vaunted Thuggee Department, heinous crimes of every description are of rare

occurrence. And not only has this security to life and property been afforded by the new police, organized and officered, be it observed, upon a system previously untried in upper India, but the mass of the people have found an inexpressible relief in their deliverance from the oppression and corruption of the old inefficient thanadaree. No better proof in support of this assertion can be adduced than the following quotation from the speech of the Oudh Talookdars recently delivered in open Durbar to the Viceroy of India at Calcutta. 'The new arrangements which have been made in the Police Department, through Colonel Bruce and other officers, have not only protected the life and property of the people from the hands of thieves and robbers, *but also put an instant stop to bribery.*' It is quite unnecessary to offer any comments upon the conclusiveness of such a testimony, coming as it does from the men who, of all others, are most competent to form a correct opinion upon the subject. We will not here enter upon any exposition of the system which led to these satisfactory results, as it differs but little from that which is now being introduced all over India, and upon which we shall immediately offer a few observations; but we would remark in passing, that it is our firm belief that very much of the success of the Oudh Police is attributable to the unwearied efforts of the European officers, to the real, indomitable English pluck with which they combatted all opposition, and returned undaunted to their work after every reverse.

We go back now to Mr. Wilson and the Police of the N. W. P. This sagacious statesman very soon after his arrival in India had his attention drawn to the subject. The question of finance was too intimately connected with that of police, to have long escaped his keen observation, and he speedily came to the conclusion, that the maintenance of a double police on a great scale was not only a financial, but a political blunder, and from that hour its doom was sealed. The question was urged upon the Government. Lord Canning always ready to listen to, and encourage any proposal for financial reform gave his ready acquiescence, and the seed thus sown, rapidly germinated in extensive inquiry, and fructified in the assembling of the Police Commission.

It was seen that the time had now arrived, when it was incumbent on the Government of India to give a distinct enunciation of its opinions and principles on the subject of the future police system for India. It was clearly a financial impossibility to maintain permanently a double police in the great Provinces of Bengal; equally clear was it, that to disband, at a stroke, the

military levies which had done such good service during the mutinies, but which were no longer necessary, for preserving the tranquillity of the country, would be to scatter broad-cast over the Presidency, a large body of discontented men, while, at the same time, to preserve the resuscitated thanadars and burkandazes would be to deliver over the people once more to the oppression under which they had laboured in times gone by. Re-established in their former places and re-invested with their traditional influence and power, the old police would have felt that their previous incapacity and proved cowardice and misconduct had been condoned, and they would henceforth have been stronger than ever to overbear the weak, and to connive at, or encourage the guilty. The time therefore was favourable for the introduction of a new system; the old one had been tried in the crucible of rebellion and had dissolved away. Some new scheme of administration could appropriately be introduced, with the, satisfactory reflection, that, at all events, whether successful or not, it could not possibly be worse than the one it was to displace.

The members of the Police Commission were carefully selected, and it comprised men of great police experience, and some whose names had become well known throughout India during the recent disturbances. The instructions given to them by the Government were clear and explicit. They were carefully to compare the existing police systems, to ascertain the composition, organization and cost of the various police bodies of India, to acquire all the information in their power as to their efficiency and their results, and, finally, to propose for the consideration of Government the broad fundamental principles, which their deliberation would lead them to believe to be essential in all circumstances and localities to the existence of a good police. More than this, the Commission was furnished with a memorandum which will be found at page 240 of the papers relating to the reform of the Police of India 1861, which embodies the views of Government on the characteristics of a good police. In this brief and masterly production, which entirely exhausts the subject upon which it treats, will be found sketched out the attributes and requirements of a police more perfect than India has ever seen—more perfect, perhaps, than we shall ever see, but, nevertheless, not to be regarded as beyond the possibility of attainment.

The Commission met, and after a good deal of inquiry and discussion, submitted a very able report, embodying in the shape of a series of propositions their views on Police, for the approval of Government. This report has long been before the public, and we need not now examine it in detail. One thing

connected with it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the members of the commission had been drawn from all parts of India, and their opinions on many important points were at first known to be various, and in some cases antagonistic, the report after serious deliberation and debate, was unanimously adopted, and thus carried with it the additional weight of being an *united* testimony in favour of the system which it advocated. A brief sketch of the general principles laid down in these propositions will not be out of place here; and it is to be observed that these principles have been adopted by the Government as a correct exposition of its views, that they are embodied in its Police Bill published in Act V. of 1861, which finally passed the legislative council in March last, and are henceforth to be accepted as the fundamental doctrines of future police administration in India.

The Police Commission drew two broad lines of demarcation which had never been previously observed in India. The first was between the police and the military. For many years the latter have been in the habit of performing a great variety of *purely* civil duties. The protection of civil jails and treasuries, the escort of treasure, the watch and ward over commissariat and other stores, the supply of innumerable small detachments at great distances from regimental Head Quarters, for the over-awing of gangs of robbers and dacoits; these and many other duties which are strictly within the province of a good police have hitherto been in India performed by the Native Army. Commanders-in-Chief and Commandants of regiments have for years remonstrated against this illegitimate employment of their forces. The men thus taken from Head Quarters, and stationed at remote posts, away from the control and supervision of their officers, contracted lax habits subversive of all military discipline, while the strength of the Corps at Head Quarters became so much weakened as materially interfered with its efficiency, in the event of its being suddenly called upon to take the field. Again since the rise of the military police during the mutinies, many duties have been performed by them, which belong purely to the military under the Commander-in-Chief.

The Police Commission, recognizing the anomaly of this practice, lay it down as an axiom that henceforth there should be two and *only* 'two departments charged with protective and repressive duties and responsibilities'—the one the military under the Commander-in-Chief—the other the Civil Constabulary under the Civil Executive Government; that the military should at once be withdrawn from the performance of all the duties above

enumerated, which they had been in the habit of performing and should be confined in future to their proper spheres: in short, that all the Army should be concentrated in such positions as the military occupation of the country may render advisable, and that the only detachments should be in those positions whose military occupation is necessary from strategical considerations,—that the whole duty of protection of life and property and repression of crime should be confided to an organized and partially armed civil constabulary, and that only in the case of rebellions or extended insurrection from within, or foreign invasions from without, should their functions be superseded by the regular Army.

The advantages to be gained by this measure are twofold. In the first place the efficiency of the Native Army will be greatly increased. The majority of the men of every regiment being always at Head Quarters, they will acquire a much greater proficiency in all that belongs to military duty, while at the same time they will be relieved from the laborious and uninteresting escort duty which formerly fell so heavily upon the Sepoys, and regarding which we find the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army writing in 1857, ‘one third of the army is permanently on duty from year’s end to year’s end, and the men are disheartened and dispirited.’

Another no small advantage to be gained by the substitution of constables for military guards and escorts is the great saving that will accrue to Government. It is calculated that every Sepoy costs the state 250 rupees per annum, while the cost of a constable is at the highest rate Rs. 130, the average being probably not more than Rs. 120. If then the Government is enabled by the replacement of the one by the other, to reduce the strength of its Native Army while at the same time it adds to its efficiency, the gain both political and financial, will be very considerable; nor is this all, the strength of the future European Army in India must, after recent events, depend in some measure on the strength of the Native Army, and, when the latter can be reduced, the former may in a corresponding proportion be weakened also with safety, should other circumstances admit of it.

The second great line of separation drawn by the Police Commission is that between the executive police and the judicial authorities. A great deal has been spoken and written upon this subject. Many contend that there should be no severance at all, but that the police should be wholly and entirely under the magistrates as has hitherto been the case generally

throughout India. Others again insist that there should be no connection whatever between the two, and that the police through their Chief, should be responsible only to the Head of the local Government. While others again, admitting, in a general way, the necessity of information to the judicial authorities, have been unable to agree upon the exact point where this subordination should begin, some wishing to fix it upon the district Officer or Magistrate, others upon the Commissioner of a Division. We believe that very much of the controversy, which has taken place upon this subject, has arisen from misapprehension of what the upholders of the principle of separation really mean. The great principle involved in the question is simply this, that the *thief catcher* shall not be the *thief trier*; that the Officer who investigates the circumstances of a crime, hunts down and apprehends the criminal, arranges the evidence and prepares the case for trial, shall not then take his seat upon the bench and proceed to try the accused. If this principle is granted, it appears to us to be of very little consequence where the acknowledged link of subordination is to fit in, and we believe that in practice no difficulty will ever be experienced, for practically, the district Officer, as defined in the 31st proposition of the report of the Police Commission, must always be the supreme power in his own district, the police must always be bound to obey his orders, and therefore if any *clashing* of authority between him and the police Officer were likely to arise, a contingency which we believe would be of very rare occurrence, he would, as the paramount authority on the spot, be able to control the other, and prevent any evil consequences to which his *recusancy* might give occasion at the time. We believe, that in almost all cases, certainly in all where both judicial and police Officers have the interest of the Government at heart, there will be nothing like rivalry or quarreling about authority. The district Officer from his position, his experience, and his legal knowledge, will, in nine cases out of ten, be looked up to by the police Officer, who will have recourse to him for advice and assistance whenever he is at fault, while on the other hand the judicial Officer will, ere long, come to regard the policeman as his right-hand, in all matters affecting the protection and tranquillity of his districts.

This separation of the police and judicial functions is the grand fundamental principle of the present police reform, and is not calculated to introduce dissension and stir up a spirit of opposition as has been asserted, but on the contrary its tendency is to assist the district Officer, and carry him along with

it, by forming and placing at his disposal a more perfect instrument for the good government of his district than he ever had before. It cannot be denied that an English Officer, whose heart is in his work, and whose whole time and attention are concentrated upon it, will, in the course of a very few years, have formed a district police infinitely superior to any we have ever seen under the old thanadaree system; and it is as undeniable that in most districts where this is the case there will be little interference on the part of the district Officer, whose experience in police work will year by year diminish as that of the other increases, and who will, therefore, be too glad to leave him to work out his cases, and trace his criminals in his own way.

It will be seen from the above remarks, that the supervision and control of the police in future by a separate body of European Officers, is one of the points strongly dwelt upon by the Police Commission as an essential element of success in the new system. Their proposal is briefly as follows: that each local Government be for police purposes considered a police district; that a head of the police for such districts or province be appointed who will be subject to the control of the local Government only. That subordinate to him a sufficient number of European officers be appointed, in the proportion of not less than one to each civil district, who will control the police of their respective districts, subject to the general supervision of the magistrate, and be responsible to their chief for all matters of discipline, organization, drill, dress &c., he, in his turn, being responsible to the local Government for maintaining the whole force in a state of efficiency by personal attention and by general management through his subordinate officers. Thus it will appear, that as in each Province there will be but one responsible head of the police, so under the operation of the new scheme there can be but *one* police within the same limit, and all separate establishments of cantonment, coast and river police, salt chokeydars, thuggee and dacoity informers, and police for Railways, must, be gradually absorbed into the one great provincial department. As a matter of course the village police will also come under the police Officer, who will exercise over them the same control which has hitherto been in the hands of the district authority. The advantages of such centralization are too obvious to require comment.

These we believe to be the great fundamental principles advocated by the Police Commission, into the details it is unnecessary here to enter. There is one point, however, which we observe we have omitted, and which, though belonging rather

to military finance than to police reform, is too important to be left out. We allude to the recommendation of the Military Finance Commission, endorsed by the Police Commission and subsequently adopted in its entirety by the Government, that the police should, on the requisition of the military authorities, furnish police guards over military stores, the watch and ward over which can be maintained as efficiently and more economically by them than by the Native Army, and as such duty belongs properly to the military department, and cannot be fairly chargeable upon a civil constabulary, it is farther recommended that for all such guards supplied by the police, payment should be made by the department requiring them.

Thus a further reduction of the Native Army becomes possible, the number of men hitherto employed in these duties having been very considerable, while at the same time, by the system of payment above described, the Government has secured the best possible guarantee for economy, as the head of every department requiring a guard from the police, is held responsible for its cost, until he satisfies the Controller of Finance of the absolute necessity for having it. Those who remember how lavishly guards of sepoys were furnished upon every requisition, and for every conceivable purpose, in former days, will appreciate the very great saving likely to accrue from the introduction of the new system.

The Police Commission on submitting their reports, forwarded agreeably to instruction, received a draft act for a new Police Bill to be applicable to the whole of India. Their report is dated in September 1860, and in March 1861 Act V. of that year, being 'an Act for the regulation of Police' finally passed the Legislative Council after considerable discussion, and on the 22nd of the same month received the assent of the Governor General. In this act will be found embodied the great principles recommended by the Commission, of which we have given a brief and imperfect outline above.

But soon after receiving the report of the Commission, and some time before the act became law, Government having decided upon its future course with regard to the police of India, action was at once commenced without further delay. A Chief Commissioner of Police for the N. W. P. was appointed, and entered upon his arduous duties. The Government had decided that a double police should no longer exist in any province of the empire, that the military police, as such, should be immediately disbanded and absorbed into the new force, and that

for the future *one* distinct and fully organized civil constabulary only for each local Government should be recognized. The measures requisite upon the above decision have been carried out in the N. W. P. with great energy. All inefficient men of the military and of the old civil police have been discharged, the remainder have been formed into the constabulary, European officers have been appointed in every district, and the whole machinery is now at work, and will in due time, no doubt, bring forth the good results to be looked for from the known ability and energy of the agents employed.

Hitherto we have said nothing of the Punjaub. Soon after the annexation of that important Province, a civil police was organized upon the old thanadaree system, but with this in its favour, that the men composing it were more carefully selected, better paid, and more rigidly supervised by the district officer, than in the older Presidencies of India, and, we believe, it has been found to work well comparatively. In addition to this body, there was also a large force of military police, both horse and foot, whose duties were chiefly, if not altogether military, and whose operation was almost exclusively confined to guarding the extensive frontier. Now, however, this double police has been abolished, and the same system, as that which prevails in Oudh and has been initiated in the N. W. P., has been also inaugurated in the Punjaub. It is true there is still a local force kept up under the orders of the local Government and not under the Commander-in-chief, but this we believe is only a temporary arrangement, and, whether or no, it is entirely distinct from the civil police, and is not under the control of the Inspector General.

At Nagpore a similar police is being organized in which the local Infantry of those districts will, we believe, be absorbed.

The great Proconsulate of Bengal alone remains; but there too the note of change has been sounded, and we believe that while we now write, arrangements are progressing for the abolition of the military police and the drafting of the men in its ranks into the new civil constabulary.

We have now briefly recapitulated the measures of police reform which have been already introduced, or are in progress in the different Presidencies and Provinces of Hindostan, it remains further to notice what has been done in the same direction in the large outlying dependency of British Burmah; but as the introduction of a new organized police in that province is but part of a great scheme of financial reform which is now being carried out, it may not be out of place to include the whole in our

observations, though not within the proper compass of this article.

During the autumn of 1860, the President of the Military Finance Commission visited Rangoon, and on his return he addressed a Memorandum to Government, which will be found at the end of the 'Report upon British Burmah' wherein he pointed out, with that clearness and conciseness which characterise all his papers, a number of economical changes which might be made in almost every department of the administration. Soon after this, Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner of Pegu, arrived in Calcutta, and became during his stay a member of the Police Commission. After that body had submitted its report to Government, Lord Canning determined to send two officers to Burmah, to be associated with the chief Civil and Military Authorities of the province, as a special commission for the purpose of considering and reporting upon every measure of economical reform, that might appear practicable and desirable. Accordingly two of the members of the Police Commission who were men of tried ability and experience were selected for this purpose and leaving Calcutta, arrived in Rangoon on the 12th of November. From thence, in company with Colonel Phayre and General Bell the Military Commander, they travelled over a considerable part of the province, and after collecting and digesting all the information they could obtain, left Rangoon for Calcutta on the 4th of December, and on their return submitted to Government the very able and comprehensive report, published in the blue book indicated at the head of this article. We will not enter into details which are accessible to every one who feels an interest in them, and will content ourselves with giving a brief summary of the results. According to this report the annual expenditure of the Province of Pegu including military charges, has hitherto exceeded the revenue by the very considerable sum of fifty-nine and a quarter lacs of rupees. The Commission go very carefully over every item of expenditure in each department, military, civil, police, marine &c. They propose a new police, to be organised upon the same principles, as we have seen applied to the new police forces in India, into which is to be absorbed the Pegu Light Infantry, which in Burmah represented the military police of India.

They recommend reduction in the military expenditure of Pegu to the extent of fifty-seven lacs annually, and suggest a new arrangement and distribution of civil establishments for Pegu, Tenasserim and Arracan by which a further saving of seven lacs annually will be effected. The result of the whole scheme when carried out being that, instead of the large annual deficit which

has hitherto obtained in these provinces, the yearly revenue and expenditure will be very nearly balanced. Many of the reductions recommended have already been effected, others are now being carried into execution, and we believe we are not mistaken in asserting that by the end of the present official year, the whole, or, at all events, those of great financial importance will have been made.

We think deserving of especial notice, the celerity with which in this case of British Burmah, action has followed on design. We attribute this, almost entirely, to the unanimity which has marked the proceedings of the two Commissioners, and their associates the Commissioner, and the Military Commander of the Province. Any one who will take the trouble to read the report will see that, in all the recommendations for economy they were all agreed. Their names are appended to all the propositions, and the two Calcutta members of the Commission bear ample testimony in this report, to the cordial and hearty co-operation not only of the chief, but of all the subordinate officers of the administration with whom they came in contact. We have here the instructive, and, we fear, unusual spectacle, of the whole body of officials of a large dependency uniting heartily to forward and carry out the economical views of the supreme Government, although, it cannot be doubted, involving in many instances the sacrifice of their own convenience, and, perhaps, in some, the diminution of their incomes. When we reflect upon the high value men put upon power and patronage, and how rarely we see those who have been accustomed to them cheerfully relinquishing any part of either, we shall perhaps appreciate more truly than we have hitherto done, the disinterestedness of the Government Officers in Burmah. But, as we hinted before, in these matters unanimity is the secret of success. No doubt there were some reforms the Calcutta Commissioners would have desired, and which the Burmah Officials could not approve, or the case again may have been reversed. On these points one or other evidently gave way, preferring to send up a series of recommendations to Government that carried the weight of an unanimous opinion, to framing proposals, perhaps more varied and universal in their application, but upon which all could not agree. It is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon to hold out tenaciously for what he believes to involve a principle. It is an admirable characteristic when rightly applied; though we fear, in too many cases, it degenerates into mere obstinacy. In this case, however, if disagreements did arise amongst the Burmah Commission, they wisely kept them to themselves, and the gratifying

result has been, that the Government hampered by no conflicting opinions, and not being called upon to decide between contending parties, has been able to proceed with promptitude to decided action.

Act V will, we presume, ere long have been made applicable to each of the local Governments of the Bengal Presidency, and we thus see a new system, amounting almost to a complete revolution in police administration, already inaugurated and about to be introduced throughout the whole of British India, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from Peshawur to the Eastern boundary of Pegu. By this measure the military police and the old thanadaree will alike be abolished and will be replaced by a civil constabulary, more simple in its forms of procedure and at the same time, more centralized, sufficiently armed and organized to secure greater efficiency in action, while not sufficiently so, ever to become a source of apprehension to Government. The Native Army released from irksome and non-military duty will be concentrated at its several military stations, and being subjected to better discipline and supervision, will become more useful for its duties in the field; and while this improvement in its morale is effected, the simultaneous diminution of its numbers, will give a sensible relief to the Imperial finances. The new police will be less costly than the aggregate civil and military police have hitherto been, and the employment of constables for many duties of watch and ward over military stores in the place of sepoy, will render possible a further reduction of the numerical strength of the latter, and guarantee to the Government the exercise of a strict economy. Such, we believe, to be some of the advantages of the new system: we believe the subject has hardly received from the public the attention to which it is entitled, and that, as the change has been introduced in different provinces at different periods and not simultaneously in all, many people are unaware of the extent or the nature of the change. We shall consider ourselves fortunate if we have by these pages done anything to enlighten those in search of information, or to lead the public in general to a proper appreciation of the benefits anticipated as the result of the new system.

One or two observations still remain. And first, we would most earnestly advocate either the institution of a police bureau at Head Quarters of the Supreme Government, or that one of the already existing secretariats should be made the depository of police reports and police information of every sort from the several local governments. We believe the importance of this

can hardly be over estimated. By this means the Government will be able to compare the different local systems, to contrast the efficiency and the costliness of each provincial police, to discern the causes of variation in them, and to ascertain the reasons of the superiority or inferiority of one as regards another. In addition to this, a means of control will be furnished, which will act as an effectual check against departure from first principles.

We maintain that as with individual police officers so with local Governments, each should be left to carry out their legitimate objects in the way best adapted to their own genius, and to the peculiarities of the locality in which they happen to be situated; but as strongly do we maintain that the latitude left to them should in no case extend so far as to admit of a departure from fundamental principles. These having once been laid down, and forming as it were the back-bone of a system applicable to every locality, should be carefully guarded from any innovations or imagined improvements, which might otherwise be made at the caprice or upon the conviction of the rulers of any of the several provinces. While the Supreme Government wisely leaves the filling up of details, the completion of the structure as it were, to the local authorities; it should jealously protect the frame work, which secures a similarity of outline, from any interference which might mar the symmetry of the fabric.

Another point to which, we believe, too much attention cannot be directed, is the efficient supervision of the Police by hard-working, earnest European officers. Some go further than this, and desire a large introduction of Europeans into the upper ranks of the constabulary. This we look upon as a matter of minor importance. We believe that it matters little whether our Police Inspectors are Europeans, Eurasians or Natives so long as they are good men; and that good, well qualified useful men are to be found in each of the above classes of the community, we have little doubt; but we think that either Eurasians or Natives will rarely if ever be found to supply the place of the European district Superintendent. For this office honest, conscientious, hard-working men, who combine a true sense of duty with more than average acuteness, and common sense are required, and except, as we said above, in very rare instances, we do not believe such qualities will be found united anywhere but in the British Officer.

One more remark, and the task we proposed to ourselves at the outset will be completed. We desire ere concluding to enter our protest against the inconsiderate objections so

often raised in the local Journals against the new police. We are happy to observe that the criticisms to which we allude, seldom come from the editors of newspapers themselves, but generally appear as 'communicated,' or 'from the pen of a correspondent' in some locality or other. Many of these, we have good reason to believe, emanate from disappointed aspirants to police appointments, but they are not the less mischievous, as calculated to mislead the public, and bring discredit upon a system yet in its infancy and entitled to a fair and impartial judgment. If a dacoity is successful and the perpetrators get off unpunished, or if a murder is undiscovered, we are told it is the fault of the new police and of the new system. We heard little or nothing in former days of the frequent and signal failures of the thanadaree. We believe that in Oudh, where the system has now been on trial for two years, the amount of detected crime is no way inferior, to say the least, to what it was under the old system, while the general security of life and property throughout the whole province, is so infinitely superior as to admit of no comparison. It is not fair to impute inefficiency where the only fault is the unavoidable one of want of experience. A good police cannot be formed in a day. Although a moderate amount of capacity and of training are sufficient for an ordinary constable, still a *certain* amount of both are requisite, and a very large amount of both, added to many other qualities which no training can supply, are necessary for a good detective. To form a good official of this class are required great intelligence, experience of men and society, a steady head, a strong nerve, a quick appreciation of the value of evidence, and an instinctive perception of the faintest clue to a mysterious deed. Such men cannot be either formed or found in a day, and those who set themselves up to impugn the system and its agents, forget that policemen are not heaven-born, and that detectives are not rained like manna from the skies. A consideration of the speech made by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 before the House of Commons, when proposing his Bill for a Metropolitan police, and a contrast of what the police in London was then and what it is in 1861, will clearly bear us out in these remarks and show what may be the result of thirty years' experience in developing the efficiency of a police force.

In conclusion. In 1856 the Court of Directors in a despatch addressed to the Governor General of India, sum up generally their opinion of the Indian police in the following remarkable sentences. 'An immediate and through reform of police in all the old provinces of British India, is loudly called for. That

'the police in India has lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which it was established, is a notorious fact: that it is all but useless for the prevention, and sadly deficient for the detection of crime, is generally admitted. Unable to check crime it is, with rare exceptions, unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the function which it fails to fulfil, and has a general character for corruption and oppression. There is, moreover, a want of general organization; the force attached to each division is too much localized and isolated, and the notion of combination between any separate parts of it with the view of accomplishing the great objects of a police, is seldom entertained.'

We believe that the new system, we have been discussing, is calculated to remedy all the evils so forcibly pointed out in the above extract, and in that belief we demand for it a fair and unprejudiced trial.

We have read some where in the *Bagh-o-Bahar* of a country so admirably administered, that the inhabitants of the Bazaar never closed their doors at night, and travellers on the highway chinked their money in their pockets or tossed it in the air as they went along the roads, so confident were they in vigilance of the public guardians of their property. We are not so foolish as to assert that we shall ever arrive at such a state of security in India, but there is no reason why we should not aim at it. The higher our endeavours, the nearer we are likely to approach to perfection. A good police can do much, but it cannot do all. We must educate the people, instil into their minds moral principles, and teach them that it is both more pleasant and more profitable to do right than to do wrong, before we can hope to make much impression on our criminal statistics, and after all is done, we cannot anticipate any very remarkable cessation from crime, either in India or in the world, before the millennium: but, if we cannot wholly suppress crime, we can at least do much to repress and to detect it. There is nothing Utopian in this. We believe the wheels of police administration have now got into the right groove, and we look with confidence to the experience of the next ten years to bear us out in our conclusions, and to justify our hopes.

ART. II.—1. *Report on the extent and nature of the Sanitary Establishments for European Troops in India.* Indian Records.

2. *Memorandum on the Colonization of India by European Soldiers.* Punjab Records.

THE three great objects of all Indian statesmen at the present moment are, to develop the resources of this magnificent dependency, diminish the expenditure of its administration both civil and military and increase the strength of our grasp on the country. All suggestions likely to lead to the attainment of any one of these desirable results, are worthy of attention, how much more so then a scheme embracing in its consideration all three. We claim this distinction for that which is the subject of the present article. How far we are justified in so doing, let the reader judge; but at all events, whether the proposition be deemed worthy of consideration, or looked upon as too theoretical for practical success, some good purpose may be attained from the mere discussion of the subject. We shall have greatly overestimated our subject, if in the course of our discussion its importance does not become apparent; and if our scheme should prove deficient or faulty in its details, more experienced or more capable men may be induced to fill up that outline; for we conceive that all must approve of the idea, though perhaps differing as to the mode in which it should be carried out; should such be the case our labour will not have been in vain.

We shall not follow the usual custom of passing in review the numerous instances, offered as well by ancient history, as by that of our own time, in which military colonization has been attempted; nor shall we seek to analyze the causes of their failure or success. In our opinion no good purpose could be effected by the adoption of such a course. The conditions and circumstances under which military colonies could be established in India, are exceptional and differ widely from those, which, in other countries, or in other ages, have attended similar experiments. We are not disposed to weary our readers, with prolix accounts of what is, after all, only apparently connected with our subject; and will therefore at once enter on the consideration of such a scheme as applied solely to India.

It would evidently be most desirable, if some means could be devised, by which we could reduce the present enormous native army. Such an act would not only largely diminish that over-

grown expenditure, which is at present paralyzing the action of our rulers, and preventing the introduction as well of administrative reforms, as of any large scheme calculated to increase the material resources of the country, but would also remove an important element of more than possible danger to the state. English troops must be maintained in a country which the recent mutiny has shown to be principally retained by the power of the sword. The effeminate trade-loving Bengalee may be well affected towards our rule, as well as the Hindu generally throughout the empire; but can we rely on the tranquillity of the Mahratta, with his hereditary love of war and plunder, of the so called independent states, of the Sikhs, with their abiding confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Khalsa, of the thirty millions of Mussulmans, animated by all the hatred of race, faith, and supplanted conquest? It is evident from past experience that we can neither trust to their military fidelity or civil loyalty. Such being the case, the necessity of maintaining a large English force becomes immediately apparent. This assertion is at once met by a statement of the vast cost of British soldiers; yet a trust-worthy army must be kept up, both for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and for defence against external aggression. The fear of hostility from without may, by some, be considered groundless; but who can say that nothing is to be dreaded, either directly or indirectly, from Russia with her large and growing influence in central Asia; an influence to which our fleets can furnish no counterpoise, and which our diplomacy is far too obtuse and blundering to destroy? Who can assert that France, with her powerful steam Navy, might not convey a force to these shores, which, supported either by a disaffected population, or by some great feudatory, might inflict a wound, none the less hurtful, because it could not lead to any permanent success on the part of the invader? War and invasion are ever best averted by ample preparation for its event. These premises being admitted, the question arises, how are we to obtain the greatest amount of British combatant power, at the least possible cost. One method, undoubtedly, is to improve the means of communication, so that a large force might with rapidity be concentrated on the required spot. In this manner a small body, unless rebellion and war raged from one end of India to the other, would be as effective as a large army with our present imperfect means of transport. The construction of numerous railways, canals, and roads, together with the improvement of those of the latter already existing, as well as the organization of an efficient land and river transit, are measures which would lead to this desirable

result, and moreover be fraught with numerous commercial advantages. Promising as such schemes may be, time is required for their completion, and till that time arrives, and even afterwards, a considerable force of English troops must be retained. How to effect this at the least possible cost to the State, so as to combine military efficiency with the utilization of their productive power as citizens, is what we propose to consider in the following pages.

Increased military strength, reduced expenditure, and growing commerce would, in our opinion, follow the adoption of the scheme of Military Colonization which we now advocate.

In a country whose financiers deal with figures of vast magnitude, an experiment likely, to be productive of such important results, such permanent diminution of expenditure, is at least worthy of consideration. Each succeeding year and every newly surveyed hundred miles, discovers places, both in the hills, and on isolated eminences in the plains, whose climate is adapted to English constitutions, and where pursuits either of a manufacturing, commercial, or agricultural nature, could be advantageously followed. As regards agriculture taken in its broadest sense, and not limited to the cultivation of grain, merely ground can generally be found at no great distance from those spots, which from their healthiness, are suitable for English residents. The lowest ranges of the Himalayas, the isolated eminences and detached mountain chains in the Punjab and Rajpootana, may be cited as examples. Doubtless the Rajmahal and Neilgherry Hills, with many others, afford similar instances; but as we are merely indicating, not elaborating, a plan, we shall not attempt to be specific as to localities. Of course, in those places classed as regular hill stations, the settlers would be compelled to confine themselves, almost entirely, to manufactures or commerce, while in those of lower altitude and easier access to the plains, agriculture could be carried on with great ease, while they would be of sufficient height above the level of the sea to prove healthy. The house of the colonist would be within a mile or two, sometimes less, of his farm, a visit to which, morning and evening, even during the hot season, would be no great tax on his powers. Such an amount of supervision would be sufficient to prevent the labourers from neglecting their work, until the arrival of the cold weather, when a more close and active superintendence would be feasible. We employ the word 'superintendence' purposely, for in the present scheme we do not propose that, as a rule, the labours of the Englishman should extend beyond supervision. In English hands, under English direction, and with as little as possible intermeddling

by Government, we have little doubt but that the proposed military settlements, would soon become distinguished from the rest of India by prosperity and progress. Nor would such advantages be confined to the actual possessions of the British colonist. These spots would become the heaven influencing for good all the surrounding districts. The success of the experiment would attract many from England, who, forming partnerships with the military colonist, would contribute their money as an equivalent for his experience. By this means, a large amount of British capital would be invested in India; a result, the attainment of which, on an extensive scale, is as desirable as it is difficult.

We do not intend to enter in detail, on the question of what manufactures or what products, would be developed, originated, or improved, by the present scheme; we need merely mention that tea cultivation opens a vast field for the employment of industry and capital; that the demand for an increased production, a more careful preparation, of cotton is, particularly in the present state of affairs in America, daily becoming louder; that sugar is capable of augmented cultivation, and improved manufacture; that good thread of native construction is unknown, and that there is no reason why such should continue to be the case; that the inferior character of the iron generally made from the native ore, together with the success of the Kumaon iron works, and the daily increasing requirements of the different railway companies, point out an advantageous investment; that the large amount of business done by the Kussowlee and Mussooree breweries shows that a want, inseparable from the presence of Englishmen, may be supplied without recourse to importation; and, finally, that from the abundance of raw material, the varied nature of the soil, and the cheapness and abundance of labour, there is no reason why India should not compete, in the way of manufactures and commerce, with America, the West Indies, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Birmingham and the Welsh iron works. Before quitting this branch of our subject, we cannot refrain from mentioning, that we are acquainted with a private soldier in the Punjab, who is at this moment constructing a lace machine, having already successfully completed a model. Why should not lace be made in India equal to that of Nottingham or Belgium! Surely the delicate, and nimble fingers of the Hindus are peculiarly adapted to such work. These facts show, that there exists in India, ample scope for English energy and industry, in the shape of superintendence and direction.

Having premised thus much, we proceed to suggest our plan; which is, that in localities more or less elevated above the plains,

such as those we have indicated, military colonies should be established, under the following conditions and arrangements.

The privates and non-commissioned officers should be men who have served at least 14 years in the army, of which not less than 8 should have been in India. No one should be selected who was not married, preference being given to those with large families. Good character and health, as well as active habits, and a colloquial knowledge of the language, should be considered indispensable qualifications. The candidate should be acquainted with some trade, manufacture, or branch of agriculture, or be able to show a probability of supporting himself and family in comfort and respectability, and each man should possess not less than 300 rupees. On quitting the regular army, he should re-engage for 16 years, or so long a period as, when added to his former service, would make up a total of 30 years. In return for this prolonged engagement, each man should receive a free grant of land suited as far as possible, to the purpose or cultivation to which the colonist proposes to devote his industry. This land he should not be permitted to alienate, until the expiration of his service, when it should become his own absolutely, and in fee simple. In case of death before the completion of the tenant's engagement, the land should be in the same manner the absolute property of his legal representative, subject to the condition, that it should be resided on by an English owner or agent, for at least 16 years after the date of the first grant. In case of the colonist soldier being invalided before the completion of the 30 years total service, the grant, in the same manner and under the same condition provided above in the event of death, should become the absolute property of the soldier. The colonist should at all times, until the absolute acquisition of the land, be liable to be deprived of it, for repeated and grave misconduct, or for neglecting to keep the estate under fair cultivation. During the whole period of colonial service the soldier should receive two fifths both of Indian pay, and family allowances, and when called out for more than the regulated days of training, the full amount of both should be granted him. In all cases of military offences the colonist should be subject to the Mutiny Act, Articles of War, and Queen's Regulations, while all civil offences, should be dealt with by common law. The military colonists should be called out for one day's drill in each month, in their respective villages, and for eight days together for battalion drill annually in some central place. On these occasions they might be massed, either by wings, or regiments, as should be deemed most advisable. In addition to the above they should be liable to be called out, for not

more than three days in each year for guards of honour or other occasions of ceremony. In case of war or disturbance, or when they may be apprehended, or in any special emergency, such as the country being temporarily denuded of regular troops, the Lieut. Governor or Governor should be empowered to call out all, or any of them, for field service. Should any colonist before the expiration of his engagement become invalided as unfit for active service, but be still considered capable of garrison duty, he should be placed on the reserve list, and be only compelled to attend the monthly and annual training in his own village. Such men should during the annual training, be practised in musketry, at as long ranges as can be met with in the immediate vicinity of the settlement; but care should be taken to render such drill and practice, as little fatiguing and irksome to them as possible. On the corps to which they belong being called out for active service, the invalids should form the garrison of the station. In the event of the soldier becoming permanently unfit for any service, he should be called before a standing committee, consisting of one field officer as president, and two surgeons as members, who, according to the circumstances of the case, such as the man's utter incapacity for any work, his pecuniary circumstances, his character, &c., should recommend him for the receipt of a pension not exceeding two fifths of what his pay and family allowance would amount to, were he still serving in the regular army. This pension should only be granted from year to year, and the amount for the ensuing twelve months should be fixed annually by the standing committee; at the expiration, however, of the term for which he engaged to serve in the colonist corps, the pension should cease. In order to secure either the men or their wives and families from positive want, under any circumstances, every man should, after the expiration of the third year's service, be compelled to contribute a very small sum monthly, such as two annas for himself, and one anna for his wife and for each child, by which a fund could be formed, whence relief might be afforded in cases of absolute distress either to the man after the expiration of his service, or to the widow and children in case of his decease. No man at the expiration of his engagement, should draw either pay, pension, or family allowances, except for special and meritorious services, for which a certain small sum should be annually placed at the disposal of the Secretary to Government, Military Department. Even after the termination of the period of the soldier's second enlistment, the original grantee of land should be bound to render feudal service by appearing in arms for the defence of the station in case of actual attack.

The Colonist villages should be occupied either by a company amounting to from sixty to a hundred and twenty, or a subdivision amounting to from thirty to sixty men. No village should be more than ten miles from the next, or further than twenty-five miles from the central point of assembly. Each company of eighty men and under, should be officered by one Captain and one Lieutenant; when over that strength another Lieutenant should be added. When the battalion consists of eight companies or under, the field officers should be two, namely, a Lieutenant Colonel and a Major; if over eight companies a second Major should be allowed. No Battalion should consist of more than twelve companies, and no company of more than one hundred and twenty men, exclusive of the reserve or invalid force. In each village an earthen fort with a shot-proof magazine and arsenal should be constructed. In the enclosure there should be also a good well, situated in a spot sheltered from the fire of the enemy, and provided with covered passages leading to it. The armoury should be sufficiently large to contain all the women and children of the station, while the men might obtain shelter in the casemates. A sufficient amount of provisions should be kept in store for a week's siege. The hospital, and treasury, should be within the walls of the fort, the latter being constructed in such a way, as regards flanking, defence, &c. that a very small garrison would suffice to hold it. One large 65 pounder pivot gun placed in the most commanding position, together with some half dozen 24 pounder howitzers and 12 pounder carronades distributed along the ramparts, would complete the armament of the fort. An Assistant Surgeon and a Chaplain should be appointed to, at least, every three villages, while in each should be stationed a medical subordinate. The Assistant Surgeon and medical subordinate might also be employed to spread the blessing of vaccination among the surrounding natives and have charge of a native dispensary or hospital. In addition to his purely spiritual duties, the Chaplain would be able to superintend the education of the district: for this purpose, village schools for the younger children, and a central academy at Head Quarters, for those of more advanced ages, should be provided. Attached to each village school, a native class should be established, having no communication with the other children. The senior Chaplain of the corps, in concert with the Colonel, would be held responsible for the effectual working of the education of the whole of the district occupied by the regiment. At the Head Quarter Academy, some useful trades and arts, together with Hindustanee

might be taught, in addition to the usual branches of education.

Every officer should be invested with magisterial and collectoral powers over the district adjoining his station, while the Colonel and Field Officers should occupy the position of Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners over the division occupied by their corps. Each officer should receive a grant of land proportionate to his rank, and on the same terms as the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. On promotion he should be allowed the option of either buying the estate of the officer he replaces, receiving a certain allowance from Government, which should be the difference of price, according to calculation between the grant of uncultivated land held by him before promotion, and the amount attached to his present rank; or of buying from Government at a certain fixed rate an amount of land equal to that attached to his former position, receiving a gratuitous addition sufficient to make the whole of the new estate equal to the acreage belonging to his increased rank. No officer should be appointed who has not been at least 7 years in India, and in 9 the service. He should be married, able to show himself the possessor of a sum not under 1,500 rupees, after deducting the expenses of his journey, he should have passed in Hindustanee, as well as have some colloquial acquaintance with the dialect of the district in which his colony is placed. After serving 20 years in the colonial corps, the grant of land in his possession at the time should become absolutely and entirely his own, provided, he shall have served at least four years in his present rank; otherwise he would receive only what appertained to that he last held. He should also, as a further boon, be allowed to retire on the full English pay of his rank, together with an honorary step of promotion.

An Inspector of Military Colonies should be appointed, who would report to Government as to their efficiency and proper working, also whether any officer from age, sickness, or inefficiency, was disqualified for his post. The Colonel of each corps would assist in this, by means of his yearly or half-yearly reports, addressed to the above mentioned Inspector.

The force should be under the direct control of the civil authorities, except in time of war. In each battalion 200 colonist Artillery men with four light 6 pounder guns, and two 12 pounder howitzers should be distributed among the different companies. These pieces of ordnance should be of as light a description as possible, so that their transport, when the corps took the field, could easily be managed by mules, ponies, bullocks, or coolies. If to the establishment of the battalion were added a strong troop

of 70 Colonist light dragoons and 60 horses, a corps complete in every respect would be the result. This troop could be stationed in a village on one of the lower ranges, not more than two miles from the plains, and in as central a position, as regards the other villages of the battalion as possible.

After the first nomination, promotion should go in the corps, both as regards officers and non-commissioned officers, with the exception of one third of the vacancies, which might be filled up by drafts from the regular army. All promotion should, for the sake of convenience, be confined, as far as possible, to the village or district where the vacancy had occurred. At the Head Quarter colony should reside the Regimental Staff. This would be composed of the Paymaster, performing, in addition to his other duties, those of Civil Treasurer, the Quartermaster, also acting as Assistant Commissary General, the Surgeon, and the Adjutant. Of these, the Quartermaster and the Adjutant would perform none but purely military services. A Captain and two Lieutenants from the Artillery should superintend the gun drill, take charge of the Ordnance stores, and, on the corps being called out, either for training or active service, officer the Field Battery. When not occupied by their special duties, they should be at the disposal of the commanding officer for employment, either, in a civil, or a military capacity, or in both combined. For example, they might conduct the survey of the district, and take charge of the roads, a task for which their previous scientific education would admirably fit them. As regards musketry instruction, one of the subalterns might be appointed to perform, in addition to his other duties, those of Instructor of musketry. The possession of a Hythe certificate should be an indispensable qualification for this post, and some extra pay should be attached to it. Promotion by brevet should be allowed to go on, and officers of the Colonist Corps should rank, and take command with those of the regular army, according to date of commissions. Leave should be granted as laid down in the new regulations for H. M.'s Indian forces, while pensions and compassionate allowances should be bestowed in accordance with the rules of H. M.'s service. This regulation of course is not to be taken as interfering with any vested interests regarding Indian pensions. The monthly pay of the officers of the colonist corps, to be as follows; Lieutenant 350 rupees; Captain 550 rupees; Major 900 rupees; Lieutenant Colonel 1300 rupees, with a command allowance of 400 rupees. The Regimental Staff should receive 100 rupees a month more than they would have obtained in the line, with the exception of

the Adjutant whose pay is already large, and who would have none but purely regimental duties to perform. The Regimental Staff should also receive grants of land according to their relative army rank. It may be observed that the rate of pay here fixed, is larger than that of the regular army, the Colonist Corps, moreover, receiving grants of land in addition. The reason for this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact, that besides the military duties, in time of peace sufficiently light, the whole civil administration of the district would be performed by the officers of the corps; and that their promotion would be much slower than in the regular service. As regards the extra 100 rupees a month proposed for all the staff, with the exception of the Adjutant, it must be remembered that their labours would not be limited to duties of a purely regimental nature. For every three or four Colonist regiments, a Lieutenant Colonel of Artillery and one of Cavalry should be appointed. These officers should not interfere with the Infantry Lieutenant Colonels, except as regards matters specially belonging to their own branches of the service. On the regiments being called out for training, they should superintend the cavalry and artillery drill, and, on Colonist brigades being formed, would assume command of their respective arms. Their pay would only be, 1200 rupees a month consolidated, except in the field, or when called out for permanent duty, on which occasions, they should receive the pay and allowances attached to their rank in the regular service. The freedom from all civil duty explains the proposal of a rate of pay lower than that suggested for Infantry Lieutenant Colonels. The Captains and Lieutenants of Artillery and Cavalry, being employed in a civil as well as a military capacity, should receive respectively 120 rupees and 70 rupees a month over and above the pay of their rank in the regular army.

The cost of the scheme is now to be considered; and though we do not purpose to enter into intricate calculations on the subject, yet we do not hesitate to assert, that, considering that the officers would administer the civil government of the district, a very considerable saving would accrue to the State. The expense of the grants of land would be but trifling, while the pay and pensions would be less than that of a regiment of the line.

Besides these considerations, the passages home, as regards the men entering the Colonist Corps, otherwise requisite would be saved. Though much cheaper, such a corps would be, *cæteris paribus*, very nearly as efficient as a regiment of the line; indeed in some respects it would be more so. A series of such colonies,

located in strong positions, and consisting of men acquainted with the country in general, and the immediate neighbourhood in particular, acclimatized to India, if such a thing as acclimatization be possible, and of tolerably strong constitutions, as shown by their lasting through the previous line service, would be of incalculable benefit for the occupation of the country. Each battalion of such a corps, at all times complete in itself, and composed of men accustomed to natives, and many to Indian warfare would be equal to four times their number of Sepoys. During the absence of the battalions on service, the colonist villages, with their fortified keeps manned by invalids, those on the reserve list, and those bound to furnish feudal service, together with the independent English residents, would supply an important element of strength.

The inducements held out to the men would consist in the free grant of land; the pension—for their pay in the Colonist Corps would be virtually such—drawn throughout the period of colonist service; the comparative freedom from military restraint; residence in a fixed and healthy locality; the family allowances bestowed until the termination of the second engagement; and the great scope for industry and talent.

As to the officers the attractions are, we consider, quite sufficient to induce able men to join the corps. They are as follows: the grant of land; the high pay; and the settled home in a good climate, by which the expense and worry of marching, so great in the case of families in India, would be avoided; we use the term settled home, because the removals on account of promotion would neither be sufficiently frequent, nor to so great a distance, as to deserve mention. To married men with large families and who had been unfortunate in promotion, such a corps would offer great advantages.

By entering it, both officers and men would be able to reckon on providing comfortably and respectably for their wives and children. To government, the direct results of the scheme would be increased English agency in civil administration, and the establishment of an efficient force, costing little and supplying the place of native regiments; while those of a more indirect nature must be found in an improved state of the revenue arising from developed resources, increased production and a higher state of civilization—that best safeguard of our rule; in the tranquillity and consequent prosperity which would soon become apparent; in the inducement which the prospect of ultimate admission to such a corps, would hold out to the enlistment of a better class of recruits; in an extended acquaintance with the

natives, and their state of feeling; and lastly in the moral hold on the country, which the increasing English population would daily render more firm. Nor would the country itself, and the native population, be without benefits from such a plan. We will indicate some of them. Increase of employment, the opening of many new branches of trade and agriculture; together with the improvement of those already existing; the establishment of many thousands of English homes, each acting as a little centre of civilization; the promotion of industry and enterprise by the increased strength of our rule; and, lastly, the cultivation of much land at present lying waste or but imperfectly tilled.

These are some of the advantages which may with confidence be predicted, as the consequences of the adoption of military colonization. Indeed the advantages both political and military, commercial and financial, appear to us so great, while the cost of an experiment would be so small, that it would be unworthy of Government to delay any longer making it. Success being, as we can scarcely doubt, the result, military colonies should be established throughout the whole of India. The distribution might be as follows. To the Punjab three might be allotted; one stationed in the hills near Murree; another in the Kangra district; and a third in one of the central ranges to the east of Jhelum and Rawul Pindee. At present there are in the Punjab about 10 regiments of British Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, and 9 troops or batteries of Artillery. Under the proposed system there would be added to the above; 3 Regiments of Colonist Infantry amounting to, from 2,500 to 3,000 men; 3 Troops of Light Dragoons numbering some 160 or 180 sabres; and 3 Field Batteries. Such a force, supplementary to the regular troops, would enable the Government to dispense with the present large native force, with the exception of some 10 Regiments of Infantry, 8 of Cavalry, and 2 Mountain Batteries, which would be required for frontier and escort duty. Nor would the three Colonist Field Forces be the whole of the strength substituted for the disbanded native corps; for from 15 to 25 villages in each regiment with their fortified keeps, would serve as so many *points d'appui*, so many places of refuge, and so much overawing force—if we may use the expression—with which to maintain our rule in the neighbouring districts. Assuming, therefore, that the colonists would furnish 3,500 men of all arms, ready at any moment to take the field, and reckoning 1,000 English, as equal to 4,000 Native Soldiers, 14,000 of the latter could be disbanded; and we should still be stronger than before by 15 or 25 village

forts garrisoned by the reserve force, invalids and volunteers, as well as by the moral influence of an increased and increasing English population. The reasoning and calculations applied to the Panjab, would also hold good in any other province, with the exception that the former requires a larger native force than would elsewhere be necessary as regards at least the Bengal Presidency; one colonist regiment might be stationed in the hills between Kalka and Simla, and one each in those of Rajmahal, Dehrah and Darjeeling districts, while, a fifth could be located among the isolated hills and ranges, so frequent in that part of Rajpootana where the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies touch. As regards Bombay and Madras we cannot venture even to suggest spots as suitable for military colonies, but we believe many—particularly in the Neilgherries—are to be met with well adapted to the required purpose. To each of these Presidencies, we would allot two Regiments. According to this arrangement the total number of colonist corps for all India, would amount to 12, varying in effective field strength from 700 to 1100 each, and giving a total of about 10,000 Infantry, 700 Cavalry, and 72 pieces of Artillery. This, by our former calculation of the relative value of English and Native Soldiers, would enable the Government to disband about 50,000 of the latter, while in compensation it would gain, besides the 12 Colonist Regiments, about 250 village forts sufficiently strong to resist a *coup de main* and to hold out until the arrival of succour. The distribution we have recommended would tend to reduce the Native Army of Bengal, in a much greater proportion than those of Bombay and Madras. This we consider advisable, on account of the inferior trustworthiness of the Bengal sepoy as compared with his Madras or Bombay comrade.

The companies of each Colonist corps being, at the utmost, only 25 or 28 miles from the Head Quarters—this last being invariably in the centre—the concentration of the Regiment could be easily effected. A simple system of telegraph communication, either electric or other being organized, the different companies could be collected, within 12 hours after the issue of the order from Head Quarters, and the baggage, camp equipage, and guns within 6 more. The troop of Cavalry, being only useful in the plains, should be ready to join the rest of the corps as it debouched from the hills. Each Regiment might easily be made as efficient as a moveable column, and horses be obtained for the Battery, by adopting the following arrangements. Every 8 privates and corporals should maintain among

them, 1 camel, or each take it in turn; each Sergeant 1 mule; each Lieutenant 1 mule and 1 draught horse; each Captain 1 mule and 2 draught or saddle horses; each Major, 2 mules and 2 draught or saddle horses; each Lieutenant Colonel, 2 mules and 3 draught or saddle horses. To aid in keeping up this transport establishment 2 annas per day should be allowed by Government for each animal. Provided they were kept tolerably efficient and in fair condition, the owners might be allowed to use them for any purpose they chose. No animal, destined for the use of the regiment should be purchased or changed, without the approval of the officer commanding the station, who, while instructed to make this obligation of providing transport as little irksome as possible, should be empowered to withhold the 2 annas a day if the animals were not kept in working condition. By this means provision would be made for the transport of baggage, camp equipage, and stores, as well as for the draught of the Battery. A monthly muster should be taken, on which occasion, those animals allotted to the baggage, should be loaded, and those destined for the Battery harnessed, the whole being taken for a march of one mile at least for the sake of practice. Each owner should be responsible that the different animals received a short training to fit them for their intended purpose; this together with the monthly and annual drills and musters, would make them fit to take the field at a moment's notice, in a tolerable state of efficiency; while a month on a campaign, in the charge of experienced hands, would render them perfect.

More than 12 such colonies, as we have described, could not be maintained at their full strength, nor perhaps is there sufficient reason why so many should be kept up. Let the number of these corps be proportioned to the supply obtainable. In the first place let one colony of one company be tried. If it prove a failure, the expense will not have been very great, nor would the experiment be totally devoid of benefit to the country. If, on the contrary, success attended the experiment, the number of colonies may gradually be increased, until they amount to 12 regiments, or as many as may be deemed advisable. The men attracted would, as a general rule, be those who either would not otherwise have remained in the service, or at best would have stayed but a short time longer; thus the regular army would not be injured.

Let us briefly recapitulate in a single paragraph, the advantages attendant on the adoption of the scheme which forms the subject of this article. It would act as an inducement to a superior description of recruits; it would be a strong motive to steady, sober, and saving habits in regiments on Indian

service; vast sums, now expended in providing passages home for discharged men, would be retained in the Treasury; it would furnish a veteran, yet healthy and efficient force, ready to take the field at any moment, and better able to resist the diseases incidental to a campaign, than one composed of those whose health had been impaired by a long residence in the plains; it would increase the civilization of the country, develop its resources and tend to the discovery of many at present hidden sources of wealth; it would strengthen our grasp of India, while permitting the disbandment of a large native force, thus relieving us of a very just cause for apprehension, and our exhausted treasury of a considerable expenditure; it would bring English capital to India; and lastly it would enable Government to have an increased English civil administration in the numerous and extensive districts occupied by the colonists. Some outlay would doubtless in the first place be necessitated, but not more than would be covered by the first two or three years' savings from diminished military expenditure. Some details of the scheme brought in the preceding pages to the notice of the reader would probably require modification, and others elaboration. Time and experience would be our best guides, as to the manner of carrying out a scheme never before attempted under similar circumstances. But should even a complete remodelling of the scheme be found necessary, it would not affect the principles we have sought to urge on our readers namely, that the establishment of military colonies in India, would both directly and indirectly increase our strength, augment our riches, and diminish our expenditure.

Considering the practical minds with whom by writing this article, we bring ourselves into contact, it was necessary that we should draw out a rough plan of details to show, the feasibility of the scheme we advocate, and that it claims to be something more than a mere speculative theory. Such must be accepted as an excuse for touching on questions of machinery, on which so many are able to give more valuable advice than ourselves. Even, however, should other means of carrying out the same project be adopted, we shall not regret having entered into that part of the subject, for our very mistakes will serve as beacons to guide the organizer to complete success. Grant but the principle and let any one have the credit of the machinery by which it is carried out. Such a field as India offers for English energy and capital can no longer be neglected, nor can the safety of the brightest gem in the British crown be left to dogmatical and worn out traditionary policy.

The native population of India may be compared to fire, a good and useful agent if kept under proper subjection, but at the same time a most dangerous element if neglected or permitted to gain the upper hand. That the profession of arms is not a safe outlet for their energies, is acknowledged by all save a few, who, unenlightened by the fearful warnings afforded by Indian history in general, and the late mutiny in particular, perceive no danger, in trusting the native with arms, and imagine consequently that none exists. An army liable at any moment to be excited to madness, for the slightest, the most childish, the most imaginary reasons; an army which hates, whilst it fears us; an army which is ignorant of the very name of loyalty; an army, the hostile races and sects of which are moved by different motives in a strong confederation of discontent against their rulers; an army which cannot be depended on even to consult its most obvious interests; an army whose revolt would receive the support of public opinion, and whose operations in case of rebellion would be openly favoured or secretly sympathized with by nine hundred and ninety nine out of every thousand of the population; an army of this description cannot be looked upon in any other light than that of a nuisance, one which cannot altogether be done away with, but which should be brought within the smallest possible compass. This may in our opinion be effected by improving our means of internal transport, and thus with a small number of troops enabling a strong force to be suddenly massed on any threatened point; and by the establishment of military colonies. This last measure besides affording military strength, would benefit the country in many ways; amongst others it would attract settlers and capital from England, and if our hopes are not deceiving us would inaugurate a new era for India. In 20 years' time this well nigh bankrupt country would become a rich, lightly taxed, yet highly productive dependency; adding equally to the wealth, strength, and reputation of the British empire. What is it now? a source of weakness to England, dependent on her for security, tottering on the verge of insolvency, and a source of well founded anxiety to all entrusted with its Government.

ART. III.—1. *Report on the Mundla District South of the Nerbudda.* BY G. F. PEARSON, Capt., Superintendent of Forests, Jubbulpore Division.

2. *Manuscript Reports on different parts of Central India.*

EVERY one, who has paid even the slightest attention to such subjects, is aware, that there exists within the limits of British India, a vast area of which very little is really known. An inspection of our best maps, the sheets for instance of the Indian Atlas, will at once impress this fact on the mind of any one who entertains any doubts about its truth, and some idea of the immense extent of those unknown tracts may perhaps be best realized by finding in such Maps the words '*unexplored*,' or '*unfrequented and thinly inhabited jungles*,' spreading in widely separated letters over the paper, or perhaps still more forcibly by the eloquent silence of blank spaces.

Nevertheless, within this area lie lofty hills and wide valleys, broad plains and winding rivers, abounding in scenery whose picturesque beauty it would be very difficult to match; it almost all lies high above the sea level; many portions of it, now practically uninhabited, are extremely fertile, and not a few isolated spots possess advantages of climate, which, although they may not render them equal to our 'hill stations' or Sanatoria, yet give them a vast superiority over our ordinary cantonments as residences for Europeans; some such places will we believe be found well suited to the English constitution, and perhaps in a few instances may even become the permanent abodes of settlers of our race.

These vast jungle tracts have been penetrated here and there by an enterprising sportsman, or by some zealous missionary, and an occasional official has now and again found his way into them, when some exceptional duty has called for his presence far away from his ordinary beat; such explorers have left isolated records of their adventures and observations, some in the pages of the sporting Journals, some in those publications which are devoted to Missionary labors, while others and by far the most valuable are buried deep among the Records of Government. The Journal of the Asiatic Society also contains some papers of great

value and interest, such as those by Major Sherwill and Mr. Samuels, describing different parts of the jungle highlands of Hindustan, and the wild people who inhabit them; the ethnologists too have been busy in the same learned volumes. We believe indeed that the study of the aborigines of Hindustan has been pretty successfully prosecuted both physiologically and philologically. Notwithstanding all this, if we consider the immense extent of the subject, and the many points of interest which it presents, and if we remember the proverbially roving tendencies of Englishmen, and their usual readiness to give the public the benefit of their experiences, at least in these all-printing days, it will not, we think, be found unfair to assert that we know marvellously little of these mountain districts of British India.

The explanation, as we presume to be found in the fact that those qualified to collect the information, or likely to record it for our benefit, have been fully occupied in other and more important duties. All attention has been naturally enough absorbed by the tax paying and litigating dweller in the cultivated districts, while the man of the jungles, who paid nothing to the public treasury, and seldom appeared in the civil or criminal courts, remained almost unknown, and uncared for: in Bengal this was eminently the case, until the Sonthal, not long since, forced himself somewhat unpleasantly on the notice of the authorities.

It would be an interesting enquiry, but quite impracticable within the limits of an ordinary article, to ask how far the successive conquerors of Hindustan established their power over the inhabitants of the jungle tracts, or how far their influence was directly or indirectly felt within its limits. One thing is however evident, namely, that from the time of the great Aryan invasion, the physical capabilities of the land have always regulated the progress of civilization, and of the more civilized races in their advance over the country. The aborigines, or antecedent possessors of the soil were driven first from the great alluvial plains, and more fertile valleys. Nor would it seem that these ancient immigrants ever gained, perhaps they never even cared to seek, much control over the savage denizens of the hills and forests which on every side hemmed in their conquests. Subsequently, however, there was at least one way in which the masters of the rich plains were forced into contact with the wild people of the highlands: the roads from city to city necessarily often passed through parts of the jungle country; whenever this was the case, tolls, and black-mail were, as a matter of course, levied by the savages on the unhappy trader, these were, of course, equally

often made the pretext for exactions which must have had a most injurious effect on trade, and may in some cases have put an end to its very existence: we may moreover be sure, that bad as such spoliation must have been, it sometimes still further degenerated into open pillage and wholesale plunder and murder; we know indeed that this was the case, for we found it so, as British power extended itself from district to district throughout Hindustan; and some of our earliest intercourse with the jungle tribes was carried on by those officers, to whom the duty was entrusted of putting a stop to their depredations, and keeping open the principal lines of communication. For this purpose different plans were adopted in different parts of the country, to meet the varying conditions of each locality: Cleveland pensioned in the Damin-i-koh (better known as the Rajmahal hills,) the chiefs of tribes, and heads of villages, who have accordingly ever since received from five to twenty rupee a month from government: elsewhere in Behar and throughout central India, the leaders of gangs of plunderers, rather than hereditary chiefs were dealt with: they were made Ghatwals: a tract of land, sometimes a very large one, was given to the Ghatwal, either at a very low rent, or else rent free, and a regular stipend payable in money was afterwards added in lieu of his supposed right to the tolls above mentioned, and on the understanding that he should be held responsible for the safety of a certain length of road, and for all highway robberies occurring within a district agreed on. The Ghatwali, unlike the pensions of the Rajmahal men, was not hereditary, in theory at least: infraction of the conditions of the grant rendered it *ipso facto* vacant, and although we believe that in practice the son, or other heir generally succeeded to the dignity and emolument, yet the sanction of Government was always necessary. In each case the object which brought the British authorities into contact with the jungle people was to secure the safety of the principal roads; and the plans which they followed were crowned with a success so complete that in almost every instance the dangers which their negotiations were intended to meet have been entirely forgotten, and the continuance of the pensions and grants seems an anachronism in our times. Such negotiations, however, and the intercourse to which they gave rise, were from the nature of the case confined to a few localities, and of course left the highlands of Hindustan nearly as much a terra incognita as before.

It is not our intention to attempt any general description of so vast an area, our limits would not admit of it, nor do we indeed possess the necessary materials: we may refer the reader to

such papers as we have above alluded to, assuring him that they abound in interesting matter; and considering those and other such isolated records, as useful material for the construction of a still future history of the ancient inhabitants of Hindustan, we shall endeavour to add one more to their number, and trust that we shall do good service in calling attention to the contents of the document before us.

That portion of the vast area which we have called the highlands of Hindustan, to which we shall confine our remarks, includes the patch of country, which, on our maps, bears the names of Santpoora, Ghondwana, Mundla, Sohagpore, and Singrowlie. It is thus bounded on the north by the generally east and west line traced across the peninsula by the source of the Nerbudda and of the Soane rivers; and without undertaking to fix any definite limit for our area on the south, we shall not wander far in that direction; on the west, the course of the Taptee river might furnish us with a convenient and sufficiently definite boundary line; but to the east, we cannot find one, for the wild unknown tract extends far down towards the Madras Country, behind Chota Nagpore, and Orissa.

We shall then confine our remarks to the tract of country stretching east and west immediately to the south of the Soane and the Nerbudda valleys, and within these limits shall rather dwell on some selected localities than attempt to give any general descriptions. The whole is however very beautiful: it is hilly, almost mountainous, covered with fine forest jungle, and watered by streams and rivers which always contain running water: the scorching heat of May and June never burns up the grass, which is at all seasons fresh and green: game abounds, the gour (bison), buffalo, sambur (elk), the golden barasinga (lal sambur), the spotted deer, chikara, hog deer, benkra (jungle sheep) and ravine deer, hogs and hares are found almost every-where, and elephants in some places. Tigers too and leopards, bears, hyenas and wolves are for the most part plentiful: the tigers are so numerous in parts of this country as to have got the credit of having depopulated whole Talooks: Government indeed organized an expedition against them and an officer was actually appointed for the duty shortly before the mutiny broke out.

Many an exciting episode in the history of Hindustan has been played out in this jungle country, from the most ancient times down to the chase after Tantia Topee. From the base of the hills to the north the advancing tide of the Aryan immigration must have been often beaten back: and, although

we shall presently have to notice at least one case, in which the conquerors exercised power within our limits, yet even now, along the Nerbudda and Soane valleys, there is a sharply marked line of demarcation between the inhabitants of the fine alluvial flats which stretch along the banks of those rivers, and the denizens of the hilly country south of them. The aborigines perhaps long retained sufficient power to make outlying settlements among the hills, undesirable for the inhabitants of the plains, and a defensible frontier a necessity of self-preservation: whilst the wild tribes were themselves safe from all fear of invasion among the trackless forests, rugged hills and deep ravines, to which they could at a moment's notice retire, even if attacked in their few and scattered villages, and clearings.

Ethnology has, we are aware, subdivided these aboriginal inhabitants of Hindustan into many families: their language, we believe, warrants this classification, as do also some perhaps of their habits and religious peculiarities: the Hindus moreover speak of them as belonging to many different castes, such as Gonds, Coles, Bygars, Sonthals, Bheels, Bhoomeahs, Kurkurs, &c. notwithstanding which, to the unscientific traveller their similarities will far outweigh all such differences; he will infallibly treat them all as one people, or his first effort at classification will certainly be based on the greater or less admixture of the blood of the higher races, which he will not fail soon to notice here and there among them: utterly unable to distinguish a Gond from a Sonthal, or a Bheel from a Cole, he will at once seize on the palpable difference between the Gond inhabiting a village near the plains, and who evidently has Hindu blood in his veins, and his fellow Gond of pure extraction from the depth of the jungle fastnesses.

This method of ignoring the ethnological difficulties, which meet us, is eminently unscientific, but as it does no violence to facts, and will prove convenient in avoiding confusion, it may suffice for our purposes: the following passage from Captain Pearson's Report contains a good description of these people which may be considered as generally applicable, and which also will be found to contain a practical comment, on the advantages of our method of classification, or rather of ignoring subdivisions.

'The Gonds hardly require any description; they are in this part of the country, for the most part an exceedingly poor, miserable, indolent and unsettled race; far inferior as far as I have seen to the Beital Gonds; cultivating in any spot but just enough to supply their personal wants; very timid, and I

'think, much kept down and bullied by the petty landowners,
 'their own Thakoors: it is perhaps a misfortune for them
 'that, owing to the extreme fertility of the soil, kodon, which
 'is their staple article of food, is almost spontaneously produced;
 '* * * they wear the most infinitesimal portion of clothing,
 'that it is possible to conceive, and subsist in a great measure
 'on the natural produce of the jungles; * * * they generally live
 'in the most out of the way parts of the forest, and at the
 'top of the very highest hills; * * * they use no implement of
 'agriculture whatever except the hatchet; * * * they show
 'considerable energy in cutting down very large tracts of jungle
 'on the hill sides, where they invariably form their fields, burning
 'the trees as soon as they are dry, and simply throwing down
 'kodon and kootkee seed, at the commencement of the rains, in the
 'ashes. This seed is left to come up of itself as it best can, with-
 'out the slightest attempt at ploughing or preparing the ground
 'in any way whatever further than I have described above, and
 'when the crop has grown and ripened, such as has escaped the
 'depredations of the deer and wild hogs is cut and stored for
 'use. * * * They never use the same spot twice, and in-
 'variably select the sides of hills, for their fields, leaving un-
 'touched the rich soil of the valleys. It is not less wonderful to
 'behold the immense tracts of jungle, which they have cleared
 'with their hatchets in the course of time, than the curious
 'spots which they select for their fields and huts. I have seen a
 'Bygar field on a ledge of rock, half way down the steep ghats
 'overhanging Lumnee, with a precipice of 600 or 800 feet
 'both above and below: and on a dark night, on the summit of
 'the highest hill, one glimmering spark may often be seen
 'showing the solitary hut of some Bygar, who has built his hut
 'and formed his field there. * * * I cannot find that
 'the Bygars differ in any way from the Gonds in their man-
 'ners and customs, but they are usually, I think, blacker in
 'color and more athletic; they appear both to use the same
 'ceremonies and to worship the same idols. At first on going
 'near their villages they are usually very timid, but after a
 'little encouragement they would often become very communi-
 'cative and even confidential. I should call them a simple,
 'harmless, and, I think, generally a truthful race: rather slow
 'at comprehending any thing at first, but afterwards, when
 'they understand it, showing considerable shrewdness in many
 'respects, much more so than you would at first give them
 'credit for.' p. 16,

It has been suggested from several considerations, some of which we shall have to notice presently, and is, we believe, pretty generally believed, that the Gonds once enjoyed a high state of civilization, or, at least, that they were once at a very much higher point in the scale of progress, than that at which we find them. The subject of the descent of any people in the scale of civilization, their degradation in knowledge of the arts of life is one full of interest: it has engaged the attention of many thinkers in our time, and has given rise to many diversities of opinion. Some assert that such cases occur frequently, or even that all savage nations were once in a state of comparatively high civilization: others, on the contrary, believe that if such cases ever occur at all, they are extremely rare, and that the amount of the real retrogression is always much less than is generally supposed.

Now within our area we find everywhere traditions of the golden days of the Gond Rajahs, when the district which is now an unprofitable waste produced great revenues: and when plenty, if not peace, blessed the valleys now overrun by dense jungle, and permanently tenanted only by the beasts of the forest. Captain Pearson shows (Report p. 39,) that these traditions are fabulous for the most part; but, in confirmation of at least a modified form of them, we find occasionally a case like that presented by the Talooka Mowye, which he thus describes at p. 29.

'There are in this Talook some very remarkable remains of extensive irrigation, works of former days, there being a great number of tanks (said to be 120) round Mowye itself. These are, some of them, of considerable size, but they are generally much out of repair now. I was unable to obtain the least information as to who constructed the tanks, or when they were made. The people attribute them to Rajah Bheem, a fabulous personage, whose "lat" I saw at Bheemlat. But there is in the jungle near Mowye what the people take to be a fort, but which seems to be nothing more than a mound of earth and burnt bricks, fifty or sixty feet in diameter and twenty or twenty five feet in height. There are several large masses of stone lying about, and it struck me as being something similar to the Buddhist Topes at Sanchee near Bhilsa. If I am correct in my surmise, it is possible that the tanks were of the same date as the mounds here referred to, and that they were constructed by the Buddhists at a very distant period: moreover, I think that in Ceylon there are enormous irrigation works, now fallen into ruin, which were constructed by the

'Buddhists in former ages, and which would seem to point to a 'similar origin for these.' As to the date and origin of these tanks and mounds it would obviously be impossible for us to offer any opinion: the subject is not without interest from the point of view of the antiquarian: to us it only presents itself as part of the wider question above mentioned, namely the ancient civilization of the Gonds. It may have been a natural, but it is certainly a very hasty conclusion to arrive at, that, because these poor savages are now the sole inhabitants of districts where those ruins lie, they therefore erected the buildings of which the mounds prove the former existence, or that if they did build them, that fact can be taken as any proof of their having formerly attained a much higher state of civilization.

It is quite certain that formerly, (as is now the case in some neighbouring districts,) Hindus of the Baghel, Rajput, and Brahmin castes, established themselves in many parts of the Gond country, not as colonists in the ordinary sense, but as a kind of feudal chiefs. Such were the so called Gond Rajahs; such were also the freebooters who from being the terror of the traveller, became as we have before described, the pensioned protectors of the mountain roads. Ruled by these men of another race, the Gonds once no doubt, held a political position which they have long lost; they were respected, or at least feared by their neighbours; wealth was accumulated, and such structures as these tanks and mounds erected. But as to the Gonds themselves, it would be, we think, gratuitous to assume that any thing which can be justly called civilization had progressed to any considerable extent among them: their social condition may have been just as low as it is now, and, relatively to their alien lords, just as degraded as at present: their manners and customs, their religious rites, their ideas on such subjects as property, marriages, inheritance, personal liberty, all, in short, which goes to make up our idea of what is called civilization, may have been just what we find them; and thus, instead of considering the poor Gond as the degraded descendant of the men who built the tanks, and mounds, we are led to the conclusion that the real constructors of these and other monuments of the former existence of a higher civilization in Gondwand, were Hindus or Buddhists, belonging to the higher race—that race which in the Hindustan of our times represents the highest civilization to which the Hindu population has ever reached, and to which it probably attained even before the Bhilsa topos were thought of. Among the other monuments left, of the state of things to which we allude, the most striking are no doubt the hill forts so numerous

within our area: the position in which some of their remarkable ruins are found, suggest that they mark the site of castles and watch towers, created by the inhabitants of the plains, as defence against the predatory raids of their dangerous neighbours of the hill country: but by far the greater number of them were unquestionably the strong holds of the robber chiefs themselves, built to facilitate their forays and protect themselves and their ill-gotten spoil.

Saoligurh, Baorgurh, Jamgurh, Asseer, Bandugurh and countless others, are perched on the summit of some naturally almost inaccessible eminence; very little artificial assistance made the one only possible approach easily defensible by a handful of men against a host of assailants; one or more tanks according to the requirements of the garrison completed the arrangements. Permanent buildings were not as a rule erected inside; in most cases one such is found, though sometimes the ruins prove the former existence of rather ambitious structures. One purpose which all these forts most probably served, and for which perhaps they were most frequently used, was as places of refuge in times of danger: they were the secure asylums to which the females and the treasures of their owners could be conveyed in the day of trouble. Legends of buried treasure are almost universally connected with them; and, indeed, with every probability of truth, if we remember that the habit of thus disposing of precious things, is, even now, universal in Hindustan, and that such places as these forts would naturally be favorite depositories. To justify the hopes of the treasure seekers we have only to suppose what must have not unfrequently happened, namely a successful surprise on the fort and a change of masters by a *coup de main*.

The stories which are still to be heard in connection with these forts, and with the wild passes of the hills around, abound in romance. The names of Jeswunt Rao, Ameer Khan of Tonk, Dowlut Rao, and other warriors of the houses of Scindia and Holkar, are still remembered here; the Bheel and Pindari wars furnish many a subject to the story teller; and the calamitous years 1857-58 have no doubt added their quota. It was however, prior to those days of accursed memory, that the writer of these pages used to listen to long-winded tales of Sir J. Malcom's campaigns, and there is no doubt, but that in the hands of a more zealous and intelligent collector the field would have yielded if not a rich harvest, at least plentiful gleanings. Alas! the Homer or the Walter Scott of Gondwana is still a coming man, and the heroes of these hills, must still remain content to share the silent glories of those brave men, who, as we are told, fought 'before Agamemnon!'

Many a sudden onslaught, well contested fight, and long sustained chase has been witnessed by these gorges and ravines; and the passes, through which communication was kept up between the Nerbudda valley and the Deccan, would be found prolific in traditionary records. These passes were frequently of great strategic importance and were always important commercially. They were dreaded by the unhappy trader of by-gone days: there he was mulcted of black-mail by the lazy lords of the hills. This was, we believe his fate until the Ghatwals, before alluded to, became wealthy pensioners, and, at least partially, abstained from the plunder and murder, which their idle dissipated descendants still bemoan as the noblest feature in their peculiar conception of the 'good old times.'

Before leaving this portion of our subject, which in our hands has assumed an aspect half antiquarian, half warlike, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting the reader with a more detailed sketch of one hill fort, as a specimen of the rest. One of our Manuscript Reports will furnish the materials, and the place we select is rather a favorable type of its class, for it is still what they all once were, namely the strong-hold of a Hindu chief, who rules a considerable population of the hill tribes. It is still garrisoned by his ragamuffin sepoy, and is the place of safety of the females of his family and the treasures of his *Toshakhana*. Bandugurh may indeed claim to be one of the most ancient, one of the most famous, and, perhaps, the most mysterious of all the hill forts of India, at least, of all this part of Hindustan. It is situated in a wild hilly country covered with thick jungle, and itself sits on the summit of a grand mass of rocks, which towers several hundred feet above the highest peaks around. The great Akbar was born, history says, in a village near Bandu, but local tradition avers, in the fort itself: it belongs to the Rajah of Rewah, and its approaches are still kept sacred from the foot or even the eye of the Feringhi.

In 1855, we saw, among the old records of the Quartermaster General's office of the Sagur Division, some accounts of Bandu, compiled from the reports of the Hurkarus of the department, the palpable exaggerations of which at all events attested the vigilance with which prying curiosity was kept from too close inspection; and the scanty information even now possessed by the political officers of the adjoining provinces, especially if combined with the impossible caricature inserted, as a representation of Bandu, on the Indian Atlas sheet, by some highly imaginative typographer, does not, we venture to think, go far to correct, or even materially modify the Munchausen-like stories

told about the place by the Rajah's people: these stories state it to be not only a virgin fortress, but absolutely impregnable; it is said to be surrounded on all sides by a morass (daldal) deep enough at the driest season to be impassable by elephants, the only means of crossing which (an artificial causeway of stone always hidden by the water) is kept a profound secret: besides which, the approaches to this causeway from the land side, are defended by fortified buildings, which in their turn, as well as the whole of the causeway itself, are commanded by the guns on Bandu. The garrison is asserted to be always immensely numerous and fully equipped, provisions and ammunition in vast quantities always in store, and the supply of water quite inexhaustible. When numbers and quantities come to be given in figures, these always assume proportions worthy of Rabelais himself.

Local tradition, moreover, states, that Bandu was once the highest hill in all Hindustan, if not in the world, overtopping the loftiest peaks of the Himalaya: so high indeed, that the lamp of Ram placed thereon was visible in Ceylon. In order to deprive the island hero of whatever advantage may be supposed to have been derivable from the sight, his great rival one day, by the advice of Luchmee, placed his hand on Bandu, and pressed it down to its present level, in doing which he caused the fosse or depression all round which forms the existing daldals, whose unfathomable depth corresponds to the vastness of the displacement above.*

In addition to the above myth, tradition tells us, that, within the historic times, Bandu once sustained a twelve years siege. Some illustrious warrior invested the fortress, and having eaten a mangoe on the day of the first assault, and having put the stone thereof into the ground at his tent door, he kept up a strict blockade on the beleaguered place, until the seed had grown to a tree and he had eaten of its ripened fruit. For several of the later years of this siege the defenders were wholly dependent for food, on the crops raised by themselves in the enclosed space above, which, however, sufficed to supply the wants of numbers ample for the defence. The area is really considerable, and no doubt a very small number of resolute men could hold such a place

* Should the learned reader detect in this bald version of a local legend, the tortured misrepresentation of some well known episode of classic Hindu mythology, the writer has only ignorance of the Hindu pantheon to plead as his apology. He gives the story as the author of the report heard it on the spot, only taking the liberty of condensing the rignmarole, and mercilessly rescinding all the expletives and superlatives.

against almost any number of assailants, both sides being supposed to be armed and to fight, as those, who have hitherto defended and attacked Bandu, have fought and been armed. Whether the resources of modern warfare would materially modify the relative strength of attack and defence, and, if so, with which side the advantage would rest, we are unfortunately unable even to conjecture.

Bandu hill is formed of a tabular sandstone, the very massive and thick beds of which are inclined with a gentle slope to the east or north-east, so that the flat surface at top also slopes in that direction. This plateau ends on all sides in a vertical escarpment, which varies in height from 100 feet to 200 feet: the space at the summit is about a mile long from east to west, and less than half a mile broad from north to south, at its broadest part which is near the western end; the total height above the daldal is a little more than 1000 feet, and a steep talus, overgrown with thick jungul, extends up to the foot of the vertical escarpment which bounds the flat surface above. With regard to the absolute continuity of this escarpment we cannot speak positively; for, although our indefatigable explorer succeeded in making observations from all sides, the extreme jealousy with which a European is watched and kept at a distance, prevented those observations from being sufficiently accurate to warrant definite assertions on this point, and very nearly succeeded in baffling his attempt in making them, even to a partial extent. One thing however he did effect, namely, the exploration of the mysteries of the daldals. It needed an effort of some vigour, even for a tolerably stout pedestrian, fairly to outwalk the long-legged piyada sent to dog his steps, and prevent him from getting near the fort; this, however, he at last succeeded in doing, by taking him up and down hills and through the jungle, all the while obstinately declining every path; once well ahead of his watchful attendant, he made straight for the nearest point of Bandu hill, and soon reached the morass.

Most of the valleys within several miles to the south, are swampy, and it was evident on close inspection, that the daldals of Bandu were not a special or exceptional case, but, on the contrary, similar to those elsewhere seen, a familiar acquaintance with the general features of which at once suggested that, regard being had to the form of the ground, this one, as well as others like it, might probably be fordable; apparently without any better motive than a strong inclination to do what was so pertinaciously forbidden, our explorer at once walked into the water, and had, after a little poking about, the satisfaction of soon finding

himself at the other side of the unfathomable abyss without having wet his waistband, this too was in February, by no means the driest season. It must however be admitted, that the question of the impregnability of the place is not radically affected by this exposure of the exaggerations concerning the depth of the daldal, for the talus was found to be high, steep, and covered with dense jungle; and at the point reached, the escarpment above was utterly unscaleable.

When just now we stated that Bandu hill rises high above *all* those near it, we should have made an exception in favor of Banenia. This hill is generally treated as part of Bandu, and a line of defensible posts runs round it; it is, however, separated from the main mass by a glen, nearly as deep as the outer valley, and from its summit to the nearest point of that of Bandu, may be nearly a mile. It stands to the west of that hill, and although of about equal height, has only a very small flat space above; no daldal separates it from Bandu, or cuts it off from the ground to the west; no vertical escarpment renders its summit easily defensible like that of its neighbour, and its artificial defences seem by no means formidable. Whether assailants in possession of Banenia would have gained a position formidable to the defenders of the great fort, we cannot decide. It has been already stated that the summit surface of Bandu slopes to the east; it, of course, thus presents its highest portion to Banenia; and it would hence seem, that guns placed on the latter, could not be pointed so as to command, or sweep the surface of the former. On this subject we of course can offer no definite opinion, but leave the facts to speak for themselves.

Bandugurh, and some one or two others of the hill forts of our area, of which we have taken it as a type, are nearly if not quite equal as fortresses to such places as Kalleenjur, Ramgurh &c. which proved so troublesome during the mutiny campaign. But none of the former were, as far as we are aware, ever manned, or in any way made use of during the disturbances.

We stated at the commencement of this paper that portions of our jungle tract lay high above the sea level, and were especially adapted by climate and other conditions for the residence of Europeans. As a typical instance of such localities we select a place called Puchmurri, and shall now proceed to give a short account of it.

Near the culminating point of that range of hills, which, following a nearly east and west direction, runs along between the valleys of the Nerbudda and Taptee rivers, there is a little plateau, with an area of some five or six square miles, situated at

about 4000 feet above the sea. Its surface is formed of undulating grass land, dotted over with scattered groups of well grown trees, and on it stands a solitary Gond village; this is Puchmurri. The park-like aspect of the place, to which the smooth green turf and fine trees so largely contribute, is enhanced by the rugged beauty of the bold rocky masses, three of which rise in peaks each about 1000 feet above the plain itself, as well as by the deep ravines and dark gorges which bound it on three sides; the grassy slopes above are in fine contrast with these glens, formed as they are of bold rock bluffs and precipices, with forest glades alternating or rather mixed together, in the most picturesque confusion. The scenery which they present, and which indeed extends for many miles to the east, south, and west, is of surpassing beauty and variety. A great deal has of late been said and written on the subject of sanatoria, enough, perhaps, to render it a wearisome one to most readers; we hasten then to announce that there is, in the present instance, no need for alarm, inasmuch as we have nothing to say about sanatoria here. Puchmurri has, it is true, been reported on officially as a site for a sanatorium. We have seen several such reports, and have one of them before us: this last, written by a gentleman with whose views we altogether agree, assumes that the climatal and other conditions which fit any place to be a sanatorium, properly so called, ought to offer the strongest attainable contrast to those of ordinary stations on the plains, and asserts that in his opinion Puchmurri does not meet such requirements. This is, we conceive, a just and important distinction to draw, for the real advantages presented by such a climate as this of Puchmurri, is not that it is capable of renovating the frame of a European, whose health has sunk under the debilitating influence of long residence in our Indian heat, but that the constitution of an European, permanently resident in such a place, would never need any renovation at all, any more than it would were he living in the south of Europe. There is an old proverb about prevention and cure, which it is, we presume, unnecessary to quote, in order to point the moral of these remarks.

Our reporter characterizes the climate of Puchmurri as having a general similarity to that of some of our best stations, such as Sagur. The very important superiority which he claims for the former consisting in a lower temperature at all seasons, cool nights throughout the year, and freedom from the extreme heat of April, May, and June: these are considerations which we think may fairly be supposed of weight sufficient to give the place the strongest claims on the attention of Government. Nor need

Puchmurri rest its case on these alone, it has others to which we shall now revert.

It has, been we believe, and we have heard still is in contemplation, to erect central India into a separate province, with a Lieutenant Governor, or chief commissioner of its own. Under this arrangement Nagpore would be joined to the Sagur and Nerbudda territories, and we may be permitted here to record our hope that the able and successful officer who has so long and so well managed the latter district, may be the first incumbent of the new dignities. Be the new governor, however, who he may, we beg to urge on his consideration the advantages, which Puchmurri presents as a site for his Sudder station.

Besides its climate, which we submit is a consideration of incalculable importance, it has the advantage of being almost geometrically the centre of the new province; the following being in round numbers the distances at which the principal stations lie: Sagur 100 miles to the north, Kamptee (Nagpore) 100 miles to the south, Hosungabad 80 miles to the west, Jubbulpore 90 miles to the east. Beitul on the south west, Chindwarra on the south east, Seoni and Nursingpore on the east, are all nearer to Puchmurri than the nearest of the above mentioned places, while Dumoh on the north east and Sehore on the north west are about as far off as Sagur.

Stationed on the healthful heights of so truly central a place as Puchmurri, it is evident that a compact body of European troops could command all parts of the surrounding district, with a greater economy of numbers, of labor, and of the risk of life than would be possible from any other point within the same area. The chief civil officer if stationed here, would be within the shortest practicable distance of the aggregate of his subordinates, which would, we presume, be considered a convenience; his courts of appeal would be at the point nearest the average majority of suitors, which would certainly be a public benefit; while that officer himself, and the staff of Europeans which must inevitably collect round the central administrative authority of a great province, as well as the British troops required for its security, would all enjoy in this fine climate a European health, and their mental as well as their physical vigour would be kept at a high standard.

Puchmurri, moreover, is easily approached from the north, and a carriage road might very readily be made on that side. The ghats on the south and west are more difficult and could be made passable by wheels only at a considerable expense, while on the east we believe no ghat exists. Should there ever be a station

here, none, that we know of, will possess any thing like such advantages in the important matter of picnics; advantages which the climate will render available well nigh throughout the year. Then, among other attractions, there is the great annual Mela or fair, held just under the south escarpment, near enough to be easily visited, far enough off to be incapable of becoming a source of annoyance to the station: there are also the sacred caves, and holy places, from which the Puchmurri block of hills gets the name of Mahadeo; these might become objects of romantic interest, even to the ladies of the future station, if only the resident Byragis could be induced to condescend slightly to increase the amount of their wearing apparel. The grape vine and orange would no doubt flourish here; European vegetables would certainly thrive, at least as well as at Sagur and Jubbulpore, and the immigrant malis would find abundance of soil for all that they could be required to furnish. One of the cheapest corn countries in Hindoostan lies within a few miles to the north, along the banks of the Nerbudda, and such supplies of live stock &c. as the Bundelas on that side did not furnish, would soon be supplied by the now hopelessly savage Gonds from the hills around.

We have described the plateau of Puchmurri as prettily wooded, and we trust that the first officer who may have authority in such matters, will levy a heavy fine for every tree felled, or establish such other regulations as shall succeed in protecting the timber; and that in allotting building sites, and laying out roads, he will make every effort to preserve the ornamental trees; for if every one is permitted to cut away the timber as may suit his fancy, one of the chief beauties of the place will be in considerable danger of being lost. Nor let the reader hastily suppose, that, in venturing to urge so apparently common-place a suggestion, we are fighting with a phantom or guarding against an imaginary risk: he would acquit us of the charge of fanciful nervousness were he ever to see that dreariest looking of all pleasant places, Chirra Poonjee. At the time of our visit to that finest climate of all our hill stations, most of the residents were enthusiastic gardeners; floriculture was a perfect rage. The mania was distinctly traceable to the then recent visit of doctors Hooker and Thomson, whose wonderful Rhododendrons, and beautiful air plants were, we must admit, well calculated to fire the enthusiasm for practical botany, which then animated the little station.

The most active of the amateurs, with a bitterness of regret with which we could fully sympathise, told us, that when first inhabited by Europeans, the little plain of Chirra, now perfectly

bare of vegetation, was well wooded, but that the gallant officer in charge, having some theoretical views on the subject of the insalubrity of jungle, and being withal of an energetic and practical turn, had eradicated every twig within reach: since when, no one had succeeded in getting trees to grow again. My informant was himself painfully endeavouring to rear a few plants round his house, and he has, we believe, since succeeded, in spite of the two-fold discouragement of a bare slab of sandstone beneath, wherein his trees might strike root if they could, and a fall of 600 inches of rain per annum, to fertilize the unpromising footing on which they feebly clung: how it had fared with the indigenous vegetation we are unable to conjecture. This is no doubt an extreme case, but were Puchmurri to meet the fate of Chirra Poonjee, we believe that considerable difficulty might be experienced in replacing the groves which now adorn its grassy slopes.

We take leave of Puchmurri, with the wish rather than the hope, that it may shortly meet at the hands of the authorities the attention it undoubtedly deserves; confident that, if it should do so, its claims to become the site of the European head quarters of central India must be recognized as irresistible.

Thus far we have been occupied, first, with Bandugurh, which we took as a type of the hill forts, that form so characteristic a feature in that portion of the great jungle highlands which forms the subject of this paper; next, with Puchmurri, which may be considered a fair specimen of the general character of some of the culminating points of the highest ridges of the same wild country, and one instance of the great advantages which some of these present for the location of European military posts, and official colonies. We shall now proceed to give some account of a third place, which we select as an example of what forms a not inconsiderable aggregate portion of our whole area, of such places, namely, as, offering other and very different conditions from those described as obtaining at Puchmurri, are calculated to invite the European commercial settler. Of these Ummurkuntuk and parts of the Mundla district, will furnish a favorable case, and we shall have the advantage of again recurring to Captain Pearson's interesting Report. The following passages descriptive of the scenery and climate will give the reader a better idea of them, than we could hope to convey to him in our own words.

'The general character of the country between Mundla and the Rajahdhar ghat, is a series of elevated plateaux, rising one above the other gradually from the river to the line of hills

‘ which bound the plains of Raipore. These plateaux are separated from each other, by low lines of ghats covered with thick jungle; the plateaux themselves being, for the most part, open prairies covered with long grass, and watered by numerous streams. * * * * In April all these rivulets contain streams of running water, and I was told by the natives that they never run dry, even in the hottest seasons. As a greater elevation is reached, the country becomes more hilly, and vast forests of Sarrye tree are met with. Here the climate is excellent, and scenery of a description which India so seldom affords, of hill and vale studded with magnificent timber, and every variety of landscape, delight the eye.’ p. 1-2.

Again, speaking of part of the same district, he tells us, that ‘ from the elevation the nights are always cool; indeed dew falls almost every night even in the hottest months, and the foliage is consequently always green, and the growing grass always springing. This at the present time (April) forms splendid grazing lands for large herds of cattle’ p. 3. Of Ummurkuntuk itself he thus writes :

‘ The climate appeared to me to be singularly delightful, during the short time I was there. I can scarcely imagine, and have seldom experienced any thing more grateful after the hot and violent winds on the plains below, than the mild soft balmy feeling of the air up here in the mornings and evenings at this season (April—May); while the nights, though by no means so cold as in the valleys below, are yet quite sufficiently cool to ensure an invigorating rest. The heat in the day time was never in the least oppressive * * * and although the mean temperature of Ummurkuntuk is somewhat higher than the average of the plain immediately below it, yet the variation was 10° less :—

‘ The scenery on the plateau is not generally of a striking character, but there is a fine view to the south over Summee, as well as east from the bluff which overlooks the plains towards Sirguja. The ravine at Kuppaldhara, where the Nerbudda falls over a basaltic cliff somewhat under 100 feet high, is very wild and well worth visiting, as also is the valley of the Johilla, on the further side of the of the plateau. But the green grass, and green woods in the Sone Bhudder, and some of the smaller valleys, are what appeared most gratifying and refreshing to my eyes.’ p. 13-14.

It would be easy to multiply descriptions taken from the Report of many parts of the Mundla district, the whole of which is full of picturesque variety. The height above the sea varies

from 1400 feet, to 3600 feet, then the Bunjur valley is 1400 and up to 2000; Hallar and Bormeyr from 1800 up to 2200, and the valleys of Kurmeyr and Seoni, from 2500 up to 2800. The plateau of Ummurkuntuk is set down at 3600, some hills rising a few hundred feet above it. Of the general agricultural capabilities of the district, the reporter has the highest opinion: the valleys are all of the richest black earth, and fine fertile soil spreads up into every glen, wide enough to afford a flat surface whereon it could rest; and his praises of the abundance of running water and the fresh greenness of the grass frequently recur. Again, speaking farther of the Ummurkuntuk plateau, he says, 'the soil is every where of a rich black description; * * * all that portion of it lying north of the Nerbudda has been recently given to the Rewah Rajah, but the south bank is still British territory. It is well sheltered and has a gentle slope down to the river, and is composed of rich black soil: it appears to me to offer a very favorable situation in case it was desired to try as an experiment whether the tea plant would thrive in these hills.'

In this plateau of Ummurkuntuk the Nerbudda river rises:— 'For so large a stream it does not make by any means a striking entry into the world. For a considerable distance above the temples, there are numbers of puddles, any one of which might stand for the source of the river. But at the one which does duty for the source, there is a stone tank about thirty feet square, in a corner of which is a small temple in which the Bramuns state the spring exists. There appears, however, no visible sign of it. For some distance below the tank, the water is dammed up into biggish puddles by small mud banks, and the Byragis and other disreputable parties who frequent the place, seem to pass the greater portion of their time in dabbling in the water.'

It is a curious comment on the peculiar view of British rule in India, which circumstances can sometimes force on the consideration of even the bigoted and degraded representatives of the Hindu religious world, that these 'disreputable parties,' as our reporter irreverently calls the holy guardians of this sacred place, are 'loud and bitter in their groans against the British Government, for having made Ummurkuntuk over to the Rewah Rajah: who, they state, will make them disgorge part of the profits, which, they derive from pilgrims who visit the shrine, and of which, under our government, they derive the whole benefit.'

The valley of Lumnee is one of the finest in the district; it forms a sub-Talook of Mundla, and contains about 100 square

miles. 'It is situate at the extreme eastern corner of the district, at the south side of, and beyond the principal ghat range. It is like a basin, lying half way down the ghats on the further side, and, as it were, surrounded by them; the promontories of Chowradadur and Ummurkuntuk towering some 1500 feet above it to the north, and another broken portion of the range dividing it from the Kalacotie plain, which lies below it to the south. Except Lumnee itself, and two or three small Bygar villages, there are no inhabitants in the valley: but it is full of dense jungle, and in the rainy season is represented as a great place of resort for all kinds of wild animals especially wild buffalos and elephants. The elevation of the valley is about 1000 feet above the sea, * * * * the soil appears to be very rich, and it is well watered by numerous streams, and I think it probable that it would prove, if, cleared of jungle, an exceedingly desirable site for coffee cultivation.' p. 15.

The climate of all that part of the country has got a very bad reputation, fostered, as Captain Pearson tells us, by the whole race of subordinate government employés, who dislike being sent out so far into the jungles. But besides this, the bad character of the place has gained credit among Europeans, in consequence of the sad fate of some German missionaries, who were some years since established at a place near Karunjéah, 10 miles west of Ummurkuntuk, by Major Macleod, to form the nucleus of a colony; three out of five of them died: here is Captain Pearson's account of them.

'The situation chosen was in all respects save one, excellent; about 2700 feet above the sea, four miles south of the Nerbudda, and commanding a fine plain of rich soil stretching down to that river. But strange to say, in a country so abundantly traversed by numerous streams of excellent water, these people seem to have pitched on a spot, where they were full two miles distant from the nearest stream of running water, and their entire dependance for this most necessary article, was on a wretched little circular tank of stagnant muddy liquid, which would be quite sufficient to poison any one who drank it.'

But besides this fatal error, in itself abundantly sufficient to account for all their misfortunes, these ill starred strangers were surprised by the rains before they had completed their bungalows, and thus, 'with no proper house over their head, with bad food and no proper water, added to the cold, which, at that season, is no doubt considerable here, they must have got bowel complaints, which, far away from medical aid, must have got worse and worse; at last three of them died; and thus most

'unfortunately, but most unjustly, this climate got into a bad repute' p. 17.

Captain Pearson again and again in the Report, gives it as his opinion, that the fears entertained of the salubrity of the climate are utterly unfounded, and insists, that if sites be judiciously selected, the jungle, where there is any too near, cleared away, and common attention paid to shelter, and the water supply. it will prove perfectly healthy; and he, more than once, strongly urges the expediency of building some houses on one or more of the higher uplands, to which invalid soldiers from Jubbulpore might be sent for change of air. Of the climate of the upper Lumnee valley he gives the following description. 'In April and May the nights were always cool, generally calm; during the first half of April a cool east wind prevailed during the first half of the day, when it veered round to the north west, and blew sometimes hot and strong during the afternoon. Later in the month the east wind ceased, and it blew gently and cool from the northward in the mornings, but about 11.A. &c. the wind set in with violent gusts, from the west and north west, accompanied by clouds and heat, threatening rain, but it cleared toward sunset and became calm and pleasant; from October to February the frosts are very severe, the ground being covered with a white coat of hoar frost, and this is one of the reasons why I think Lumnee, which is lower and more sheltered, would answer better for plantations than the upland country; at all events this is a point that should be practically ascertained; dew certainly falls every night over the uplands, on some nights more, on some less; differing much according to the locality, the heaviest falls being in the narrow valleys; to the dew of course must be attributed the verdure of both grass and trees on the plateau.'

These quotations will have given some idea of the country and of its climate, but they do great injustice to the subject, and still greater injustice to the admirable sketches contained in the Report of which they form part, and to which we once more beg to refer the reader for fuller details.

The Mundla district has long enjoyed unenviable notoriety as one of the worst in all India for tigers. To them indeed has been attributed the depopulation of whole Talooks. A party of men (no one ever thinks of going alone) passing along the most frequented roads, must be pretty numerous; the men must keep their cattle, if they have any, close together; they must shout as they go along, and straggling, be the straggler man or beast, is considered fatal. Both men and cattle are stated frequently to be carried away at midday from the middle of the villages:

and so serious did these ravages appear to the authorities, that the commissioner of the Sagur and Nerbudda territories some years since, sought and obtained the sanction of Government for the appointment of two officers, who were to make systematic war on the Mundla tigers: the important matter of pay and allowances was settled, elephants, beaters, and native shikaris arranged for, the expedition organized and actually started: it was found, however, that nothing commensurate with the trouble the expense, or the grandeur of the preparations, could in this manner be effected. This district may for hunting purposes, be considered as one vast jungle, out of which of course no wild animal could be beaten by any conceivable number of elephants or coolies, so that the old native plan of the *gara* and *machan* was the only one by which a shot could be obtained. We may explain, that this consists in sitting up at night in ambush, near the carcass of a beast killed by a tiger, who always returns, after a few hours interval, to gorge on his prey: a plan which can be tried only about the full moon, with any chance of success.

Now although many people have no doubt been killed by tigers in Mundla, the reports on which the above account is based, were proved by Captain Pearson to be gross exaggerations. After travelling backwards and forwards through the length and breadth of the country, he tells us at p. 30, that he can safely acquit the tigers 'of having any thing whatever to do with the 'depopulation of the district.' Tigers of course there are, and they sometimes do mischief, but they 'certainly are not worse 'than in Seoar or Beitul,' districts to the west, where no one has ever pretended that they interfered with the question of population. Further on he sums up thus; 'the Gonds and Bygars 'are continually prowling about, in a perfectly heedless way, 'through the densest jungle, with only an axe on their shoulders, and, of course, they sometimes get knocked over; but I 'only came across three or four places in the district where 'there was a regular '*Leidut*,' as it is called, and although 'a Gond village may perhaps be deserted on this account, it 'must be remembered, that it does not take much to make a 'Gond change his location, as they seldom if ever stop in one village over three years.' Our own experience in the adjoining districts goes to confirm every statement here made. The way in which these jungle men pass most of their time is well described as heedless prowling; they really wander about very much in the manner of wild beasts, without object or intention, alone or in couples, the only exception to their listlessness being, when, with their eternal hatchet, they chop at and wantonly disfigure,

or if unusually actively inclined, cut down altogether, the most promising young trees they can find. It rots where it falls, and not once in a hundred times do they make any use whatever of even a leaf. But if it is not a matter of surprise that these fellows sometimes get knocked over, how much less need we wonder at the fate of the Bhat, or conjuror, who Captain Pearson tells us, was supposed to possess the power of shutting up tigers' mouths, when, he goes on to say that, he 'got himself devoured' one day while practising his dangerous calling.' On the whole perhaps, after hearing what our reporter has to tell us, of the modifications which we must apply to the old stories, the reputation for tigers may prove rather an attraction than otherwise to the European.

On the subject of European colonization the Report treats at some length, and contains information to which, at no distant period, attention will, we believe, be most seriously directed. The reporter estimates the land available for agricultural purposes, in that part of Mundla which lies south of the Nerbudda, at 1350 square miles *for the best land*. This first quality land is thus distributed: 300 square miles in the plateau immediately below Ufamurkuntuk; about 300 square miles round Rajgur Bichia, of which part of Mundla we shall extract a short notice from the Report presently: the remaining 750 square miles are distributed among the minor valleys, scattered at various levels throughout the mountain ranges, all over the district: and these patches vary in area from 4 or 5, to 20 and 30 square miles in each valley. (see page 37).

The best land for agriculture would also be best adapted to pasturage, and as the whole district is estimated to contain 4106 square miles, there remain 2756 square miles, which are principally slopes and hill sides covered with forest jungle.

Besides his suggestions for tea, coffee and cotton planting, in special localities, the reporter informs us that wheat, barley, chenna, and mussoor grow luxuriantly with a minimum of cultivation, and that flax-growing has been most successful in the few places where it has been tried. He has no doubt but that oats would grow admirably, and that from the abundance of the supply of water, and the richness of the soil, sugar would prove a very profitable crop: rice as requiring less labour in the cultivation, and kodon and kootkee requiring none at all, are now the favorite crops. He dwells on the extraordinary facilities for irrigation, which he believes a small expenditure would make very profitable, he indicates the forests as a source of profit not only for their timber, but their gums and lac: he believes iron

could in some places be profitably worked, not on a great scale for exportation, but so as to supply all local requirements, even when these should be vastly increased. But before all these, he insists that the European settler should first of all direct his efforts to cattle-breeding, and the rearing of sheep, poultry, and horses. As we shall have to return to this subject, we shall leave further remarks until then, and add one more suggestive quotation from the Report, selected as descriptive of one of the most favorable spots in the district, for the hopes of the European colonist. It refers to Rajgur Bichia above mentioned. 'The southern portion of the valley south of Bichia, is most excellent, and would form a most desirable settlement for any European who wished to take a grant of land in Mundla; the locality about Munglee, is the one which seems to me the best. 'It is admirably supplied with streams of running water, which is also everywhere near the surface, the soil is excellent, the climate, I think, perfectly healthy, although on this subject I would of course, speak somewhat diffidently. There is a broad belt of Saul forest which extends along the north west end of the valley for several miles, and which appeared to me to have the effect of cooling the hot winds at this season (April, May), as while west of this belt they blow fiercely, I never felt a warm blast to the leaward of it: * * * * there is abundance of good timber in every direction, and there is not a single landed proprietor in the neighbourhood to interfere with * * * * between Bichia and Rajahdhar, which is certainly one of the finest portions of the Mundla district; there are scarcely half a dozen villages all the way up the valley for 30 miles. Another advantage to the settler would be that he would be 50 or 60 miles nearer Mundla, and, consequently, to a market for his produce, than at Pertabgurh or Lumnee. The country is perfectly lovely at this season along the river, and the clumps of Sarreye trees, interspersed with young green grass give it quite a park-like appearance; while herds of red deer, basking in the morning and evening sun, add much to the beauty of the scenery. * * * * * The road from Jubbulpore to Raepore passes by Bichia, and up this valley to Rajahdhar, and it is a very important line of communication in a military point of view, and likely to become so commercially.'

Finally, as evidence of the general fertility of the country, and of the extreme facility with which, almost without cultivation, the fruits of the earth can be obtained. 'I will only mention, that as soon as my regiment arrived at the foot of the Rajahdhar

'ghat, in April 1858, we found rice, wheat, dhal, and chenna, all selling for 100 seers the rupee, measured out in heaped up baskets; and at this very time the regiment and all its camp followers were supplied, at an enormous expense, with every seer of flour by the commissariat.'—p. 8.

We can add of our personal knowledge, that, in another part of the district, three maunds of jhow were in May 1861, (this famine year to wit) sold for the rupee.

With the above quotation we may close our description of the facilities which may be expected in the prosecution of some scheme of European colonization in the Mundla district.

The establishment of a small colony under the protection of Government, and managed by a salaried official, has been suggested, as also military colonization, on the system of the Hungarian 'Greutz Regimenter.' We have to confess our ignorance of the organization or duties of this last mentioned body; but even, without knowing any thing of the advantages which it possibly might present if we only knew them, faith in first principles is, for once, strong enough to prejudice us against that, among all such plans, and we heartily concur in Captain Pearson's opinion, that the colonization of Mundla had best be left to private enterprise.

No sooner, however, do we turn the shield, bring its reverse side before us, and look closely at the picture, hitherto so attractive, from a different point of view, than difficulties and obstacles begin at once to appear. For instance, the extraordinary cheapness of the ordinary staple food, which we have above brought forward to prove the fertility and productiveness of the soil, undoubtedly also proves the absence of all means by which such produce could find its way out of the country, so as to reach some considerable market,—proves in fact the want of roads, a difficulty and obstacle in the way of European colonization, on which, however important, it would be tedious for us to dwell; for it is, perhaps, the very first to strike every observer, be he painstaking and impartial, or superficial and partisan; and it has, not unjustly, been urged on the attention of government with the most wearisome iteration. Here is the aspect which it assumes in Captain Pearson's Report, and we need not say, that, to any one interested in the country, and anxious for its improvement, it is both sad and irritating to find such a statement as this.

'The road from Jubbulpore to the eastern coast of India, lies through Mundla and over the Michael range to Raepore and thence through Sumbulpore to Cuttack. The present road, as noted in all government Maps and Routes, passes the ghats

'at Rajahdhar, but the bulk of the traffic goes by Chilpee, four miles west of the former, the reason being that the Rajahdhar ghat, on account of the steepness of the ascents and descents, is exceedingly difficult for wheeled carriages; while the Chilpee ghat, although in its primitive condition, is easily passable both by animals and carriages.' Appendix. B. p. 48. And again, 'The road over the Rajahdhar ghat could not be made fit for wheeled carriages for less than Rs. 30,000 and a large sum nearly equal to that, has already been expended, though without any benefit on account of the wrong line having been adopted, the ascent being one in five, or one in six.'—p. 7.

That is to say, in the case of a great road, not only important to this district, but to the empire, on which government has expended large sums, the money has been so squandered by the imbecility of the officer entrusted with the duty of improving the means of communication, that wheeled carriages have to avoid the road he has seen fit to make, and travel by an old track. Here then, as indeed everywhere else in British India, the want of roads will prove one great stumbling block in the path of the European settler. It is however removable, and in this part of the country without great cost or trouble: a road from Rajahdhar to Mundla and on to Jubbulpore, is already in an advanced state, and half a dozen bridges would render it passable for carts at all seasons: branch roads from it would not be costly or difficult of construction. Save at the ghats, there is nothing to render them so.

The next difficulty in the way of European Colonization, is of a far more serious nature than the want of roads. We shall introduce it to the reader by another quotation from the Report. At page 5, speaking of the district generally, Captain Pearson writes thus: 'Here, at all events, exist none of the chief objections to European settlers, as there could be no interference with the rights of native landholders, and no disputes could arise about the crops, for there are no cultivators to dispute with: at the same time it would be entirely useless for any to attempt it, (that is, colonization,) who have not considerable capital at their disposal, for it would be three or four years before the settlers could hope to be independent of external assistance; houses would have to be built; and without capital good stock for breeding purposes could not be procured.' And, in continuation, he concludes by saying, that he is convinced the capabilities of the district are such that they need only to be known in order to attract to the enterprise, 'persons of capital and stability, sufficient not only to take in hand, but to succeed in carrying

'out with profit such a plan,' namely European colonization of Mundla by private enterprise.

There appeared in the Allahabad Government Gazette, dated 29th September 1860, a set of Rules, to regulate the conditions on which the authorities were prepared to assign grants of waste lands, in the northwest provinces, to European applicants for such grants. A comparison of these rules with some passages of Captain Pearson's Report, suggests some very curious reflections. He has just told us, that it would be entirely useless for any European to attempt profitable farming in Mundla, unless he could command considerable capital, besides which a statement has lately gone the rounds of the Indian papers, to the effect, that a non-commissioned officer, retiring honorably, we believe, from the service, applied to Government for a small grant of land, that the grant was refused, the highest authority giving as the reason of the refusal, that successful management of land in India by Europeans, could only be hoped for from men of capital. Now the rules trenchantly exclude all men of capital: first by limiting each grant to, we believe, 5000 acres; next by limiting the leases to short periods. We do not assert, nor do we believe that Government is under any moral obligation to permit land to be purchased in fee simple, and in large lots; but it is difficult to escape the conviction, in the face of this Report, and of the minute above alluded to, that these rules were passed with the deliberate intention of excluding Europeans from Mundla; for to accept the other alternative seems utterly irrational, namely, that the framers of the rules could suppose men of capital would take small patches of land on short leases.

Nor is this alternative left simply as we have stated it. Captain Pearson tells us, that 'the breeding of cattle, sheep, poultry and horses seems to be the first thing to set about with a prospect of profit, and to be especially desirable, not only on account of the singular advantages which the district affords, for carrying it out, but also because it would involve less expense in the introduction of foreign labor at the outset, as the Gonds would be much more adapted to the more desultory work of looking after poultry, cattle &c., than to regular labor, and would take to it more naturally.'—pp. 23-24. At p. 5. above quoted, it may be remembered that he says, three or four years must elapse before the settler could hope to be able to depend on his farm produce as his sole resource; meanwhile he would reap some immediate profit from his cattle, would feel his way, and find by painful experiment, with no doubt cost and loss, how he could best direct his future operations. He would have some chance by

thus commencing, of conciliating the Gonds, an all-important consideration as we have seen, and, might, perhaps, in these preliminary three or four years, lay a sound foundation for future success, if permitted to follow Captain Pearson's judicious advice, advice, be it remarked, which is recommended to his notice in the rules themselves, which rules nevertheless, lest some man of capital should perchance be found, mad enough to take one of their small grants at a short lease, decree that such grantee shall forfeit every acre not brought under tillage in two years.

Can the rulers have thought any further impediment required? Lest however some capitalist of indomitable energy, undaunted by the above difficulties, should present himself, the door is 'banged to' in his face by the announcement, that no grant whatever will be conceded to a European, until the district shall have been surveyed and mapped. He may amuse himself meanwhile with conjectures as to when this is likely to be.

To complete the forbidding aspect of this side of the picture, we have only to add, that, prior to the promulgation of the rules, a company, we believe, proposed to Government to take up a large portion of the Mundla district on lease: they offered, if we are rightly informed, to pay as rent, a far larger sum than has ever been realized as revenue, from the same area, the revenue having always been so small as to represent but a fraction of even the slight cost of administration. Of the causes assigned for the rejection of this offer, we know nothing, it is of course amply explained in the rules.

We have above, perhaps indiscreetly, spoken of the motives of the framers of the rules: motives are of course entirely beside the question and with them we can have nothing whatever to do. We should, instead, have said, that the necessary result of these rules will be to exclude European settlers from Mundla, and from all those parts of our great jungle highland districts similarly circumstanced, and of which we have taken Mundla as a type: this we presume no one will be found to question, nor can it be denied that these rules may justly be considered, not as difficulties in the way of European colonization under such circumstances, but as an absolute and final prohibition of all attempts at its realization.

Accepting this view of the case, it will now only be necessary to write down the word COTTON in capital letters, in order to suggest to the mind of the reader a long string of reflections, which rise naturally in connection with the subject before us. It is beyond our province to determine, and no part of our intention

to discuss whether the action of European enterprise, ought, in the matter of Indian cotton, to be strictly limited to the encouragement of an increased production in districts already growing it, or to be allowed to extend to attempts at cotton planting by Europeans themselves: it is enough for us to rest assured, that whichever of these plans obtains the largest acceptance, or is best calculated to ensure ultimate success, both will, ere long, be pretty extensively tried: and we may, moreover, be pretty sure that, although the greatest and most important results, may perhaps be looked for from the indirect influence of European capital, in stimulating the production of cotton in Hindustan, yet cotton planting by Europeans themselves is certain to spread, and that, whether for good or for evil, its influence on the future of British power in the country will be serious. Government has, moreover, again and again announced its intention to encourage the influx of European capital and enterprise, and its wish to do all in its power to aid, as well as to lead the way in 'developing the resources of the country,' has done so indeed, until such phrases, as that which we have just placed in inverted commas, have taken rank among the stereotyped common-places of public documents.

Here then, we have on the one side both a real necessity, and a popular cry in favor of English settling in Hindustan, which the Government echoes, and promises to satisfy. On the other, we have these districts of Mundla and the like, presenting every facility for a trial of the experiment under exceptionally favorable circumstances, a fertile soil, a climate suitable in every way, no native landholders to interfere with, and we find the authorities acting thus;—they recommend, as trustworthy in all respects, this Report for the information of intending settlers; so far they are certainly right; but when it tells the would-be-colonist that considerable capital is absolutely necessary to his success, they meet him with a rule which decrees that he can have only a few acres, and those at a short lease;—when it tells him that his best chance is cattle breeding, and that three or four years must elapse before he can hope to get firm hold on his somewhat difficult position, they meet him with a rule which provides, that he may be ejected out of every acre which he has not brought under the plough within two. In fine, they seem to act just as if it had been their intention to use the valuable information before them, for the sole purpose of contriving expedients for his total exclusion.

This we believe to be, as far as it goes, a perfectly fair statement of the case; but, like most questions, this one has two sides:

for even taking for granted, that the authorities have deliberately determined to exclude Europeans from such districts as Mundla, it need not therefore follow, that they had no good reason for their decision; or supposing that their reasons, whatever they may be, should prove such as would not satisfy us, as to the justice and expediency of that decision, it is evident that they nevertheless may have produced honest conviction in the minds of the framers of the rules. This last we conceive to be the state of the case in the present instance, and we shall presently point out, what we believe to be the consideration which had weight with the authorities in this matter. Government is loudly charged with inconsistency—worse still, with wilful deception, in first promising to aid and encourage the European settlers, and then issuing such rules as those above mentioned. Now we mentally acquit the accused of the latter charge, and this is how we explain the existence of the inconsistency. Unquestionably, if we could pry into the secret cogitations of the ruler of British India, we should find, that the ultimate analysis of his profoundest meditations on the very greatest questions of state policy, would result in two exceedingly common-place rules of conduct, between which, in last resort, his choice is practically limited. They may be thus stated: firstly to protect all his subjects from all wrong of all kinds; and secondly to make India pay. Crude, unphilosophical, and unstatesmanlike as these maxims look, in the rough dress of our untaught phraseology, we believe they will be found to contain the leading ideas of our rulers; and, if so, it will not be denied that they must come not unfrequently into real, or apparent collision. On such occasions, there must after all be no small difficulty in practically adjusting their relative claims to authority; and this difficulty must be enormously increased, when pressure from without disturbs the normal equilibrium of the balance, and extraneous influences force irrelevant matter into the scales. It must sometimes happen, that one of our maxims, for the moment, attains undue prominence, acts with more than its legitimate weight, and gets a temporary lead. Our plea is that it is impossible to conceive that this should not sometimes occur, and that it offers a simple and natural explanation of apparent inconsistencies, without forcing us to resort to, what we confess we consider, the somewhat extravagant alternative of supposing, that a batch of gentlemen, who, quite irrespective of their official position, we should think it an honor to know, and whose word in private we should never think of doubting, met together to put on paper a gratuitous and unnecessary lie. We find it much easier to believe, that they

and their master suffered the common fate of inferior humanity, and honestly wavered, under the influence of contending motives and contradictory rules of conduct. Let us now turn to the Report and see what light it throws on this part of the subject.

As Captain Pearson's knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants increased, and in direct proportion to the amount of the information which he gradually accumulated of the general condition of the district, a curious change seems to have come over his views, on the subject of the means best suited to bring about a better state of things: what he found was simply the shadow of a revenue paid by a district, in which 'depopulation' is continually progressing, and at page 5 he writes thus: 'It is difficult to say at once, what means would best succeed for repopulating this fine district, and developing its resources; but it must be taken for granted, that no plan will be of any avail for that purpose, unless one or more European settlers, of some sort, go and take up their permanent abode there.' at the very end of the Report, page 39, he says; '*I can not help feeling that the chief dependence for improving the district, must be placed in the hope of being able to induce respectable natives, to come up from the Nagpore country and settle here.*' The italics are ours, and indicate the passages showing the change above alluded to; it is, as will be seen, thorough and complete. The beau ideal of the Indian officials, is, we believe, the 'respectable native,' as his *bête noir*, unquestionably, is the 'enterprising European': nor could any unprejudiced observer wonder at the preference. The former is courteous, conciliating, and above all respectful; he has the most heartfelt admiration of the laws, the courts and the officials, which he daily finds so useful in grinding his dependents down to their fitting position of abject submission: the other is too often a 'sad dog'; frequently, alas, the reverse of courteous, rarely conciliating, and very seldom indeed respectful; he has, moreover, the most cordial abhorrence of the laws, the courts and the officials, which daily spoil his temper, and waste his time, and his money. Considering these things, had this Report been the work of the Chief Commissioner of the district, within which its subject lies, or of one of his deputies, we should have been prepared for the passage last quoted as natural and justifiable. But there is nothing in Captain Pearson's Report which can suggest the suspicion, that he arrived at his conclusions by any other process than the impartial examination of *bonâ fide* evidence, or that he was swayed by foregone conclusions and prejudices.

The change illustrated by the two quotations above was a gradual one: his distrust in the certainty of the benefit derivable from European colonization soon appears to have suggested itself; for, very soon after the passage, where this certainty is confidently declared, he tells us, that 'too much care could not be exercised before making any grant, to ascertain that any person who was willing to make the trial, was in every way fit for it, and had the necessary capabilities and qualifications to carry it out successfully.' That such a person could be found, he does not at this stage seem to doubt, for he goes on to speak with confidence of the success of this scheme. As he sees more of the stupidity and excessive timidity of the jungle people, he insists that care should be taken, 'without entering into vexatious particulars, to provide effectual means for the protection of the present inhabitants from oppression.' At this point he still entertains hopes that care is all that is necessary, and that by taking proper precaution, all difficulties will ultimately be overcome. He thus continues—'no doubt, any one for his own interest would take care of this, but still we all know how liable our own dependents are to oppress and bully their own countrymen, when the latter are poorer, or lower in the social scale than themselves; and, no doubt, if a European came up here with a large staff of chuprassees, to collect labor &c, even if he were the kindest man in the world, and desired most of all to do justice to those he employed, yet if he did not take care, his assistants would soon drive all the Gonds and Bygars out of the country. Perhaps if it could possibly be managed, it would be better if it were made legal, for every man employed to claim daily pay for work performed, and I think I would not sanction as legal, any agreement between the settlers and the Gond ryot, which was not countersigned by a magistrate, deputy collector, or some disinterested party, in order to testify, that the terms were fully understood by those who bound themselves by them'—p. 26. Now here the European is supposed to desire to take that care which is competent to obviate the difficulty—'if he did not take care his assistants would &c. ;' but he will take care, it is for his own interest to do so, beside he is probably kind, and desires to be just.—We are not ourselves very devoted admirers of the paternal system of Government, and are not, therefore, likely to be enamoured of such expedients as that suggested for the daily payment of coolies; nor have we unbounded confidence in the interference of deputy collectors, and other such disinterested parties: still we admit that circumstances so special may warrant treatment even as exceptional as has been

proposed, and at all events we recognize in what Captain Pearson says, a sensible and manly view of the case. He acknowledges that the average European though keen in the pursuit of gain; is anxious to be just: he insists very properly that his subordinates are all that is the reverse of this, and the jungle people being timid and stupid, he urges that the European master should be stimulated and aided in his attempts to restrain his native employes, by such regulations as while satisfying his sense of justice, may best meet that end without unnecessarily or vexatiously trammelling himself. This view, if not so sanguine as that of page 5, is at least just, and leaves the case to stand on its own merits; in fact, leaves experiment and fair trial to decide, what in reality it alone is competent to decide. At p. 39, on the contrary, the whole question is prejudged, and decided for us without experiment, and even without any one reason being assigned for the conclusion announced—‘however well inclined I feel to my countrymen, *I cannot help feeling* that there are very few, who would have sufficient patience and knowledge of their character, to deal successfully with the wild and timid races who inhabit these parts; or, however well disposed and capable they might themselves be, how far they would be able to prevent their chuprassees and other assistants from exercising oppression.’ We cannot but regret that the reporter should have suppressed all the reasons on which so important an opinion as this was formed, and one so unlike that formerly advanced. We may be gratified to hear that he is well inclined to his countrymen, the state of of his feelings is highly creditable to him; but we consider the announcement of it as a poor equivalent for evidence in a case of this kind. Page 5 we find bears the date of October 1859, whereas page 39 was apparently written in May 1860. If Captain Pearson in the interim, had come in contact with some specimens of the enterprising European, and thus learned by personal inspection that he is not the amiable being he took him for, we submit that he ought to have told us so. When we once more read over the two passages which we have placed in juxtaposition above, one from page 5, the other from the end of the Report, we are prepared to maintain, that, in common justice to himself, the reporter was bound, either to give his reason for the change which his opinions had undergone, on the subject of the European colonist, or else to bring forward any evidence he may have had, for thinking the jungle man more timid than he had believed him to be at first, when ordinary care was all that he considered necessary for his protection: but, above all, we have,

we conceive, a right to call on him to inform us, what reason he has for supposing that the respectable native, whom he hopes, to induce to come up from Nagpore, will treat the jungle people differently from those other respectable natives, who, he tells us, now '*bully and keep them down.*' And finally, we may ask him, how it has come to pass, that his conviction, founded on feelings which he cannot help entertaining, of the contingent possibility that the European might permit his subordinates to bully the the Gonds, has so completely out-weighed the fact, (founded on actual evidence reported by himself,) that native landholders actually do bully them, as to warrant him in assuring us that the only hope of improving Mundla lies in encouraging the latter.

We are inclined on the whole to admit, that Captain Pearson's manner of treating this part of his subject is open to some such adverse criticism as the above: adverse criticism, however, is not our object, and when we take the statements, even the statements of opinion, in the Report, apart from the way in which we find them advanced, we in the main, or at all events to a great extent, agree with every one of them, and believe that the contradictions are, after all, more apparent than real. In the first place, we agree with him in his belief that European colonization could change the Mundla district, from a thinly populated wilderness, in which a few half starved and wholly degraded savages eke out a miserable existence, into a rich and prosperous province, and, postponing for future consideration his counter proposal of native colonization, we believe that European colonization is the only way in which this could be effected: but then, we do not shut our eyes to the fact, which does not seem to have engaged his attention at all, that benefits of this magnitude cannot be realized here, any more than elsewhere, without being paid for in some coin. We agree with him in thinking, there is the most serious danger that even the greatest care, kindness, and love of justice on the part of the European settler, may fail so completely to check the rascalities of his subordinates, as that an occasional Gond might not suffer an occasional wrong, or even that one or two might not occasionally run away into the jungle. At this point, however, we stop, namely at that reached by the reporter at p. 26. above quoted—we agree with his opinion there expressed, that self interest would act on the settler favorably for the Gond. We have some little confidence in the action of the virtues there attributed to the European, and we further believe that certain checks might be devised, (whether those he suggests or others,) which would secure the wild man all the protection that the most rigid justice could.

demand, and it is only where he fears that this could not be effected that we take issue with him; in short, although we shrink from the casuistry which teaches us to do evil that good may come, yet we believe that whatever may be *unavoidably* suffered by the wild men, would be far more than made up to them, by the advantages they would reap from the presence of European settlers in Mundla. On this point, on which we take issue with Captain Pearson, turns the whole question, in reality; we can only leave it to the reader, and in doing so it is but fair to confess that our opponent possesses fuller information and a more extended experience than we do, in spite of which we have the firmest confidence in the correctness of our own conclusions.* Captain Pearson then, at first advocates, and finally rejects, the European colonization of Mundla as the best hope for the improvement of the district. We shall now proceed briefly to examine which has received his approval.

First, as to the excessive timidity of the jungle men, no one, who really knows any thing of them, will question his assertions. Their indolence too is extreme; nothing save compulsion would ever induce them to work. We speak from experience when we say that they will refuse a sum, which they could not in any other way earn in a month, if required to do, in exchange for it, three hours' work: rather than undergo the very slight amount of labor required to secure the best crops of the best corn, they prefer to barely keep body and soul together by means of that miserable stuff kootkee, already described as their favorite crop and which grows almost spontaneously. We believe that no

* It may, perhaps, not be out of place here to mention, that we have seen with regret some criticisms on Captain Pearson's Report, which advocated what may be called the extreme "enterprising European" party. The reporter was personally attacked, although not one of his statements was questioned, nor any of the reasons on which he rests his conclusions impugned. It was asserted to be a self evident proposition, that all that is required to ensure the improvement and prosperity of Mundla, is the presence there of men of the stamp of the "old Indigo planters of Bengal". It is treated as not only absurd but malicious to suppose that any injustice to any one could result from such men having uncontrolled power there; and the suggestion for the registration of contracts, is treated as a malignant insult offered by the reporter to his non-official fellow countrymen. Surely nothing could more strongly impress on any candid mind how well grounded Captain Pearson's fears may in some cases be, than the possibility of such views being seriously advocated. Nor can any thing show more clearly that the official conception of the "enterprising European" is not entirely the phantom of imaginative prejudice, or tend more powerfully to justify the apparent determination of the authorities, either to exclude him altogether from such districts as Mundla, or, if forced to admit him, to take the most stringent precautions that he shall not put in practice the theories which such advocates are not ashamed to avow.

reward, which it is in the power of man to offer, would induce them to submit to sustained labour, and we are convinced that, if to twenty average specimens there was given every luxury that the wildest effort of their imaginations could conceive, during six days, and they were required in return to do on the seventh day, an easy six hours' work, every one of the twenty would run away to starve in the jungle rather than submit to such conditions. In short we accept Captain Pearson's conclusion, that the settler could not count on the jungle man as a source of labor, and that the gentlest attempt at coercion would drive him to the woods. Unless he is to be reduced to slavery, some means must be taken to raise him at least one step in the scale of progress, before he can meet the European on common ground: this one step we believe many of his congeners (as we take the unscientific liberty of considering them) have already taken, in learning to appreciate improved food, clothes and dwellings, and in feeling the consequent desire to possess the same: this desire is the only possible motive of exertion that can be used, and prior to its existence we know of no way, save violence, by which the European settler could avail himself of their assistance at all. Now this process of giving the Gond a taste for luxury has commenced even in the wild district, though to, of course, a very partial extent: for instance at p. 32. we hear that they are 'gradually migrating towards those villages where they can obtain the advantage of bazars; that is, where Hindu cultivators are settled,' and again at p. 33.; after describing the 'hopelessly bad condition' of the inhabitants of the wilder parts of the country, the reporter tells us that it is 'in strong contrast to the state of affairs about the villages nearer Mhow, which are inhabited and managed by Hindu cultivators.'

The adjoining districts, within the territories of the Rewah Rajah, are identical, as regards population and general physical condition, with those described in the Report, in all respects save one, namely, that there the experiment suggested by Captain Pearson, has been long tried, and we can safely assert, that stronger confirmation of the justness of his view could not be desired than may there be found. In that part of the country, precisely the same hill men live in precisely similar hills and dales, the only difference being, that their villages instead of belonging to themselves, themselves and their villages belong to Baghels, Rajputs, and Bramuns, who, settled here and there about the country, seem to be a kind of feudal lords of the soil. Now it is palpable, even from a superficial inspection, that this state of things is highly beneficial to the wild men: wheat, rice

jhow, urhur and other dals, chenna, sugar, janera, maize, some oil seeds, and tobacco are seen round every village, trade, if it cannot fairly be said to exist, is, at all events, beginning to be born, for *something* is exported and *something*, however little, imported: the fragments of dress one sees, for instance, are not exclusively the produce of that most antediluvian of all contrivances, the indigenous loom. Unquestionably the people eat better food in better huts; moreover they work a little: their physical condition is in short improved, very slightly perhaps, but still positively, tangibly, perceptibly; they have taken a step, and if it be but a short one, still it is in advance; they are less migratory, and the small end of the wedge is really inserted.

Their Hindu masters have all the good and all the bad qualities observable in the same kind of people elsewhere: they are a handsome thorough-bred looking race, tall, fair, dignified, and graceful in mien, and having all the outward signs of hereditary rulers of men: moreover they are lazy, idle, and dissipated, and their government of their Gond subjects may be described as an irresponsible despotism, modified (not indeed by epigrams, but) by the jungle, to which their villagers have always the resource of flying. It is perhaps humiliating to confess it, but we nevertheless believe that these men do what Englishmen would fail to do, namely, manage the wild people of the jungle profitably to themselves, and to the decided advantage of the inferior race. The overbearing insolence of the 'Anglo Saxon,' in his treatment of men of, what it pleases him to call, an inferior race, is proverbial; moreover it is (what is by no means the same thing) true; but we unhesitatingly defy any European to parallel the supercilious hauteur with which these lords of the soil treat their dependents, it is positively wonderful to see; but nothing ever led us to think that the Gonds minded, or even perceived it: we fear they do not appreciate the exquisite contempt shown for them, its artistic grace is lost upon them; of one thing at all events we are quite convinced, namely that they do not feel insulted by it.

To the Hindu Thakoor, just as much as to the European settler the labor of the Gond is the great desideratum, the first necessity; the grand difference between them lies in the form in which each would seek to obtain it. The latter would try to get it *directly*, that is in the form of a day's work; this would be a *sine quâ non*, even if he could profit by Captain Pearson's advice, and commence by cattle breeding, but much more so in the prosecution of those undertakings which would be ultimately most profitable to him, such as tea, cotton, coffee, or indigo planting; the former meanwhile seeks it, on the contrary, *indirectly*,

namely in the shape of his crop: he goes round his villages, sees the arable land, advances to the head man, or to private individuals corn for seed, sometimes also for food, and at harvest time returns for the crop. At this stage of the proceedings it is that the peculiar genius of the Thakoor shines forth with peculiar lustre; his prey is not at his mercy in the sense in which the Bengali villager is at the mercy of the mahajun: a little too much pressure and the village is deserted in a night; the inevitable jungle is within sight, and stays the master's hand. That the screw must practically be adjusted with a nicety approaching to scientific accuracy is proved by the following considerations; first, were too much exacted, cultivation under the system would to a physical certainty decrease, whereas it is rather perhaps slightly on the increase; next, were any kind of fair play to be shown the Gond, he would certainly long ere this have spread, multiplied and grown rich and independent, just as the Sonthals did in the Rajmahal hill district from 1840 to 1855, whereas we find him kept at the lowest possible stage, just above his absolutely wild condition, that is, barely up to the point at which he can be made useful to his master. Just as direct taxation is felt in a way quite unlike that in which indirect taxation is perceived to be oppressive, so the Gond parts with his labor in the shape of his crop, although nothing could induce him to give it in the shape of a day's work; that is, as we have seen, in the only form in which it could be made use of by the European settler.

But the Thakoor manages to get something out of him in the way of direct taxation also. The lord of half a dozen villages issues his perwannah, commanding the attendance of a number of young men; when the service required is the cutting and carrying of wood, we believe that obedience is always readily accorded, and no reward ever given or expected. In the case of a hunting party, or if the Thakoor himself, or any other noble traveller, requires a load to be carried for a stage, we have never heard of any question being raised, or any difficulty being made by the villager. But when sustained labor is required, if a field has to be broken up, or a bund built, then a day's food is always given in return for 3 or 4 hours' work; and we have seen many a bund and many a tank long left in a half completed condition, only because labor could not be obtained: here in fact we have the measure of the power of the Thakoor, the limit beyond which he cannot stretch his authority.

If the European could establish himself in a country like this, if he could begin where the Hindu cultivator leaves off, or rather stops short, then, indeed, we might hope for the best results;

he would offer his wages to men prepared, or in process of being prepared to appreciate the advantages of such treatment; and if he had the patience and wisdom not to want to get on too fast, more labor for higher pay would soon be obtainable, and a commencement once successfully made, his village would soon be crowded with deserters from the estates of his neighbours. Never could there be found a more doubly truthful application of the trite old French proverb '*ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*' than here: in one sense the European cannot make this first step in advancing the Gond on the path of progress: in the other were he permitted to make his first step as he might make it, under the guidance of Captain Pearson's advice and in the absence of the rules, it would prove his sole difficulty.

In conclusion, we must for a moment revert to the subject of this paper, namely, the great jungle tract including Santpoora, Gondwana, Mundla, Sahagpore, Singrowlie: on the great majority of the subjects, suggested by an area so vast, we have not touched at all. For instance on that of its mineral wealth we had intended to have given a connected sketch; we found, however, that to do to such a subject even a semblance of justice, would have extended this article far beyond all permissible limits: a technical account of the coal fields of that portion of our area which borders on the Nerbudda valley, has been published by Government, with maps, &c; to that volume we may refer, as the only extant information on the subject.

Many other parts of our area equal Mundla in the peculiar advantages, to illustrate which we have analyzed Captain Pearson's Report of that fine district. Other places equal Puchmuri, or nearly equal it, in most, if not all those features which we believe render it so desirable as the site of an official colony. Mythico-historic ruins, and beautiful scenery are to be found almost everywhere, and of the former we have given but a meagre idea in our account of Bandugurh. In short, we take leave of our subject with the regretful conviction, that we have been able to do but little to attract towards it that attention which it so richly deserves.

- ART. IV.—1. *Report of the Indigo Commissioners.* 1860.
 2. *A Blue Mutiny, Fraser's Magazine.* January, 1861.
 3. *Reports of the Special Commissioners.*
 4. *Indigo Blue Books.*
 5. *Indigo and its Enemies.* London 1861.

THE unpopularity of a Government, when it is almost universal,* is generally considered sufficient proof that it is unsound, unjust, or at least unsuited to the wants and necessities of the people. When it becomes so in England it is overthrown, and a new Ministry, which, at least, promises better, is put into its place; should that also fail to give satisfaction the process is repeated, and, perhaps, the first dismissed, having had a lesson, gets another trial. This occurs every few years, and is considered a wholesome and necessary check upon the tendency of men, who have been long in power, to forget that they are, after all, only the servants of the people. Public opinion is powerful in England, chiefly through the press, but how many statesmen has England seen, who would have disregarded the warnings or demands of the popular voice, or, perhaps, treated it with contempt, but for the all-powerful executive which popular opinion possesses in the House of Commons? Where would the Reform Bill and a thousand others have been, had England been governed by a ministry hereditary and irresponsible, and which no representations could remove? It is thus in Bengal, and over all India, and the effect of security and irresponsibility is exhibited in the usual manner, in insolence, arrogance, and a contemptuous disregard of all demands for reform. We have a hereditary Government which does not change, into which no new blood can be introduced, except at the lower extremities; and having to pass through the same veins, and follow the same arteries, taking fifteen, or it may be thirty years to reach the head and brain, can it then be considered new? It is no exaggeration to say that this is the case with the Civil Service. Its education, after reaching India, has undergone little or no change for fifty, or perhaps we may say one hundred years. The same grades of assistant Magistrate, Magistrate, Collector, Sessions Judge, Commissioner, Sudder Judge, Secretary, Member of Council, and finally Lieut. Governor have to be gone through

* That the Indian Government is unpopular with natives was settled, beyond dispute, in 1857:—that it is so with all independent Europeans, who can deny?

by all with scarcely any variation. It appears to have been assumed that this formula could not be improved or modified, and so it has gone on; and, as might be expected, the old world machinery, no matter what material it was fed with, has produced fabrics suited neither to the tastes or wants of modern times. It is like a paper mill. The rags of the beggar and the cast off linen of the gentleman being thrown into one vat, become undistinguishable, producing a medium article, not so good as the best, and not so bad as the worst. And can we blame the linen because it was mixed up with the rags to make an average, and was not done justice to? In spite of the mixing, a few sheets of first rate quality have turned up, but under such difficulties, that their number, compared with the whole quantity, has been very small.

It has been the creed of the Civil Service for generations, *that the independent European was dangerous, an embarrassment to Government,* and not to be encouraged. It originated in the trading days of the Company, who would admit no poachers into the preserve, and it has been kept up since partly from self interest, partly from fear of those who were 'too prone to assert their indefeasible rights,' and a mistaken policy. There are men now in the Civil Service, and able men too, who still consider the introduction of Europeans freely into India as dangerous and impolitic. It took a long time and many a hard fight to repeal the corn laws and establish free trade, but it was done, and so will it be in India; but we need not wonder if some civilians should, like British farmers, look upon the measure as ruinous. It is hard to convince men when their education, and harder still when what they conceive to be their interest opposes conviction. There are English farmers who still maintain that free trade has been the ruin of the country. In most cases 'the ruin of the country' means, a real or imaginary injury to the class to which the speaker belongs. The protectionist farmer and the civilian are on a par in opinion, but there the similarity ends. The farmer has no power to injure in any way the free trader. He is not an officer of the customs department through which the article, he believes is ruining him, has to pass. If he were, it is not improbable that difficulties might be thrown in the way of the obnoxious article. Now the civilian is an officer of the customs department, and not only of the customs department, but of every other from the free port to the most remote corner of the land. There is not a market to which the free article can be carried, over which he has not a certain control, and that control is, of course, greatest

in the most remote, namely, the Mofussil. It is perhaps strange and, upon the whole, most creditable to the Indian protectionist, that he has not used his power oftener and more unscrupulously. It may be accounted for in many ways, and first, we will place it to the credit of his general love of fair play, his natural partiality for his countrymen, for there was, and even still is, such a partiality, although self-interest, or fancied self-interest has done much to smother it. Secondly, it has happened that the civilian has had an interest, under the rose, in the Interloper's money-making schemes;* and more than that, in a lonely out-station a cheery companion and a fellow sportsman is too valuable to be readily quarrelled with. Any one even tolerably acquainted with the Mofussil, will at once admit (and has not the experience of the last two years proved it,) that even now, and how much more so must it have been in old days, it is in the power of a Magistrate, by a slight indication of hostility, by a mere hint of its existence, to endanger, if not absolutely to ruin, the most equitable and flourishing enterprise ever undertaken by an Interloper, and when that hostility is carried so far as to suggest, that there may be 'irresistible pleas' for not fulfilling a contract, need we wonder that it is successful, and that the chance of emancipation from obligations and debt is eagerly snapped at? It would be so in any country where the moral sense is far stronger than in Bengal.

It would occupy more space and time than we can afford, to recapitulate all or half of the charges which have been brought against the planter. Rape, robbery, murder, kidnapping, torture, forgery, and outrages of every description are amongst the number, and are still repeated and harped upon, in spite of the unwilling dismissal of all the heavy charges recorded in the Indigo Commission's Report. We say unwilling dismissal advisedly for reasons which will be given hereafter. It is curious, that the filthiest crimes which have been imputed to Planters, and which have been above all others, declared to be the most improbable and foundationless, have a Missionary origin. There may be some who will really misunderstand us when we allude to Missionary failings, and a great many more who will pretend to do so, it being the old and well established tactics of the unworthy members of all respectable professions to construe any and every charge made against the individual into an attack upon the class, and, if it can be twisted into a scoff at religion itself, it is so much the more effective.

* Evidence of Mr. Mangles before Colonization Committee.

The planter is accused of violence in carrying on his business, violence in representing his grievances, and, in short, on every occasion when an opportunity for being violent is available. Now, we admit that in some instances the charge is to a certain extent true, but is a man to be refused justice because his manner of asking for it is open to objection? We do not approve of violence either in business or debate, but we maintain that although violence may prejudice many against a cause, the merits of which they are ignorant of, it does not make a just cause unjust. When a ryot rushes into 'the presence,' and throws himself upon the ground roaring for justice, he is decidedly violent, but would any Magistrate be warranted in refusing him justice or even a hearing because of his violence. Should he say, 'My dear Sir, your case may be a very hard one, but, really, your manner is so rough that I can do nothing for you?' There is nothing so likely to engender violence as a strong conviction that justice will be denied, and the Planter has tolerably good grounds for holding such a belief, and so has the ryot, for there is, as a rule, no justice in the Mofussil. There is no such thing as simple justice known. The rich man can buy decrees, but is *that* justice. The advantage in law is on the side of the rich all over the world, in England as well as in Bengal. It has been so since the days of the antediluvian patriarchs, and will be till the Millennium. It is difficult for the most charitable to make sufficient allowance for the position of the Planter. He has to deal with notoriously the most immoral and lying people in the world. If he wants his own he must take it, for practically the law will not recover it for him. If people would look calmly and with an unprejudiced eye at the charge of violence and lawlessness brought against the Planter, and at the admitted* diminution of affrays and disturbances, they could not fail to come to a conclusion, much more favourable to the Planter than we fear they have, at least in England. To help them to which comparatively favourable conclusion we may quote a few words from the Indigo Commission Report. At para. 86, after referring to the decrease of heavy crimes, Mr. Seton Karr says, 'even in Nuddea, as will be seen, the cases were few in the years preceding 1859 and 1860. Some of this good result is no doubt due to the working of Act IV of 1840, for giving summary possession of lands, to the law for the exaction of recognizances, and security against apprehended breaches of the peace * * * and to the establishment of sub-divisions, with convenient circles of jurisdiction * * and we doubt not to the good sense and

* Indigo Commission Report,

'good feeling of the influential planters.' Now we beg careful attention to the above. It is admitted, nay proved, that increased facilities for obtaining justice have diminished, indeed almost extinguished, serious outrages. The inference is, simple. Still greater facilities would annihilate the minor offences as surely as they did the serious outrages. Now, if the Planter were really the oppressor, which it is the interest of his enemies to represent him to be; if, as they assert, oppression is necessary to the very existence of his profession, we should expect to find him the steadfast opposer of all reform of the law, or of the administration of it. A lawless man does not ask for an increase of Magistrates. A colony of burglars would not be likely to petition for more detectives of a better and less corrupt description, in preference to those who used to wink at their proceedings and share the spoil. But who has been so loud as the planter in complaining of a vile police? who has cried so much, and so persistently, for the reform of the existing courts, and for an increase in their number? The Planter has begged, petitioned, and prayed for years to be brought nearer justice, to have more of it, to have it purer, and more accessible, and this fact, which is too notorious to require proof, should be a sufficient answer to nearly all the charges brought against him, the chief of which is lawlessness. To English minds the charge of lawlessness is considered a sufficient ground of condemnation, and if proved, at once puts the unfortunate so charged beyond the pale of sympathy. It may be instructive to enquire in what lawlessness consists. An Englishman would define it, as meaning a detestation of law, order, and justice, a love of anarchy, a capability of committing any or every crime for the prevention of which laws are made. To an Anglo-Indian, and especially to one of Mofussil experience, it has a far different meaning. All men who are beyond the law, or have no law within their reach, are lawless; but does this necessarily mean unjust, oppressive, cruel and tyrannical? Suppose that, under pressure from a mahajun or any of his numerous and merciless creditors, a ryot flies to an Indigo Factory, and, in consideration of his agreeing to cultivate a small portion of his land with Indigo, receives a sufficient number of rupees to satisfy, for a time, his most relentless persecutor, and the temporary difficulty being removed, endeavours to evade, neglect, or altogether repudiate his agreement, and that the only remedy left to the planter is an expensive and almost interminable Civil suit, costing from one to two hundred per cent upon the amount claimed. The claim is a just one, and the Planter has an empty godown on the spot, while the Civil Court may be ten, twenty, or fifty

miles away, with a lane of greedy, corrupt Amlah guarding every approach, and watching at every gate for what they may devour. The short and easy remedy is the most natural under such circumstances, and need we wonder if it is adopted? We are far from defending it, for it is a rule in civilized lands that even one's own is not to be taken by force. In the letter of the Court of Directors, No. 3 of 1832, we find the following in para. 5.

'There is too much reason to believe that the Ryots are to a great extent oppressed* and defrauded, if not by Indigo planters themselves, by agents employed by them, acting in their names and for their advantage, while breaches of the peace attended with violence (often with wounding, and sometimes even with murder,) are committed, the chief actors in which are hired armed men engaged by Planters, for the express purpose of enforcing their claim in defiance of the law.' If we alter only one word in the above quotation it will fairly represent the state of matters. For 'in defiance of the law' let us put 'in the absence of the law' and it will explain very nearly every instance of 'lawlessness.' It cannot be denied, that when the power of righting one's self without the formality of a law-suit exists, the power of oppressing others must necessarily co-exist, and amongst any large body of men, no matter what their profession may be, some will undoubtedly be found who will tyrannize under such circumstances; but what does it amount to after all? Let us take the list of crimes furnished to the Indigo Commission by the most spiteful, and, we will do him the justice to say, the most open and plucky enemy of the Planters, Mr. Eden, and see if it bears out the sweeping charges so unhesitatingly made by such men as Mr. Layard. We cannot doubt that such a partisan as Mr. Eden did his best to establish his case, and no greater proof of his zeal is needed than is furnished by the statement referred to, which goes back to about the time of his birth, that is to 1830. The list contains in all forty nine cases in 29 years, a trifle over a case and a half per annum. Now, with regard to the cases themselves, we cannot do better, even at the risk of provoking a laugh on a serious subject, than quote Mr. Eden's own words in reply to the question, No. 3578, put by Mr. Fergusson. Mr. Fergusson asks, is it not the case that more than half of those accused were acquitted? Mark the reply. 'There are scarcely any one of these cases

* Would not this remark apply with equal force to Government? for who can deny, that ryots are oppressed and defrauded by the amlah of every court in India?

'in which the European or principal Manager of the concern has even been put upon his trial, although in many of them, the Judges trying the cases, have expressed strong opinions that such Europeans were themselves implicated in them.' Imagine a compiler of criminal statistics in England including a number of men, who had never been tried or even formally accused in the list of criminals, because some of the Judges had expressed 'strong opinions' upon individuals who never came before them. Mr. Eden was unfortunate in the choice of the case on which he made his final stand, for his statements prove nothing more than that Mofussil Courts will commit upon evidence which the trained Judges of the Supreme Court consider insufficient or altogether worthless. This has been notoriously the case from time immemorial, and forms the chief ground on which the European claims exemption from Mofussil Courts. The Judges have had no legal education, are surrounded by perjury and corruption of every description, and the case must be simple indeed, if by any thing short of a miracle, they arrive at the same decision as the learned and deeply-read Judges of the Supreme Court, held in check and guided as they are by the experienced intelligence of an able bar.

The comparison is an unfortunate one for the Mofussil Judges. Mr. Eden's logic amounts to this. Ignorant, or say comparatively ignorant Judges condemned two men to imprisonment for life, for murder, upon the same evidence as was rejected by educated lawyers, ergo, the learned and experienced were wrong and the ignorant ex-collectors right. We should be disposed to come to a directly opposite conclusion, and say, that probably two innocent men were sentenced to imprisonment for life for a murder, which does not appear to have been legally proved was ever committed. No body could ever have been produced or identified, if we are to credit Mr. Eden's next most logical statement. 'If the murder was not committed, (says Mr. Eden,) where is Dick alias Richard Aimes, who has never appeared since?' It amounts to this. If Tom is accused of murdering Dick, and fails to produce Richard Aimes, he is indoubtedly guilty, and should be imprisoned for life. The above specimen will surely suffice, so we may be excused from following Mr. Eden's evidence further. Instead of having shown their utter worthlessness and irrelevancy, if we admit that the forty nine cases are strictly true, who is there to blame? We have no hesitation in saying, in the most solemn manner possible, that every crime which could have been either totally prevented or mitigated by good laws, good police, and more available justice, lies at the door of those, who for years have refused to admit the necessity

for reform, chiefly for the same reason that the planter was unwilling to reduce the number of bundles he would extort for the rupee, namely, expense. It would not pay. The country could not afford justice and must go without. There is a wonderful similarity between the Government and the planter here. The planter could not, he said, afford more for the Indigo as it would not pay him, and it turns out that, in some cases,* he was giving away more in rent than he made from the Indigo. The Government could not afford justice, and it lost in revenue, owing to the insecurity of property, ten times more than would have sufficed to bring justice to the door of the poor and oppressed, for whom it professes to have so much sympathy. Mr. Grant steamed through seventy miles of people calling for justice. Can it be that Mr. Grant's route was a newly discovered one—was it through some lately annexed territory, Oude, or Sikhim? Or is it possible that seventy miles of people can be still crying for justice, in a district over which we have ruled since the last shot was fired at Plassey. No, Mr. Grant, it cannot be, for your and your predecessors' Judges, Collectors, and Magistrates have sat in judgment in that district for a hundred years. It could not under such circumstances, be justice they called for. If it was, what a grand corroboration of all that Planters and other interlopers have so long proclaimed, that there was neither law nor justice. Mr. Grant, in order to strengthen his case against the Planters, has gone on blindly heaping accusation upon accusation, setting forth, with all the strength of his able pen, the Planters' sins of commission, forgetting, or, in his anger not heeding, the inevitable conclusion, that the sins of the Planters would have been impossible but for his own heinous ones of omission. Mr. Grant has not the excuse of ignorance, for he boasts that he had 'peculiar opportunities' of becoming acquainted with abuses in connection with Indigo '*in all districts*' so far back as 1835; so for twenty-four years has he tolerated grinding oppression, which has only now become unbearable, although it is admitted by all, and even by Mr. Grant himself, to be absolute freedom compared with what formerly existed. Mr. Grant has filled no subordinate place for very many years, and after such an avowal of his knowledge, we should expect to find him taking the lead in remedial measures; but has he done so? We cannot call to mind one single step taken by Mr. Grant, to put a stop to such a disgraceful state of affairs, when he occupied a seat in council. It could not have been from want of power, for we have seen that a

subordinate officer, possessed power sufficient to uproot the growth of two or three generations. And to that subordinate the credit, if there is any, of the emancipation is due. Mr. Eden took the first decided step, which did not meet with Mr. Grant's approval or sanction for several months, namely, from 20th August 1859 to 7th April 1860. There was certainly no undue haste shown by Mr. Grant in the investigation, for he took seven months to consider a proclamation which only occupies sixteen lines of the Blue Book. Mr. Grant is not so slow a thinker or actor in matters personally affecting himself, for we find the petition of the Indigo Planters, presented to the Supreme Government on the 26th July 1860, replied to, in a minute filling eleven pages of the Blue Book, on the 17th of August, considerably under a month, and even this short delay he states to be 'longer than was desirable,' and pleads illness as his excuse; we see that a proclamation, which, whatever might have been its intention, was undoubtedly interpreted as meaning that a ryot, in spite of a legal agreement to cultivate Indigo, might offer 'irresistible pleas' to avoid the consequences the planter insists upon, required seven months for explanation and consideration and was finally approved. But suppose it had been otherwise, and that Mr. Grant had taken the same view of the matter as Messrs. Grote, Reid and Drummond, who, one and all, condemned the 'indiscretion' of Mr. Eden, the consequences would have been much the same, for it did not take nearly seven months to do the mischief. This extraordinary delay, taken in conjunction with Mr. Grant's subsequent proceedings, showing, as they do, unmistakable *animus*, as, for instance, his offering a reward for the conviction of certain individuals* supposed to have been concerned in an affray, can only lead to the most damaging conclusion, that he allowed seven months to elapse to give the proclamation *time to work*, in case he should be ultimately compelled to disavow or condemn it. What knowledge Mr. Grant did possess on the subject of Indigo, we have his own admission, was twenty-five years old, and could not consequently be said to be either fresh or practical, having been all derived from having been employed, in the year 1835, in 'digesting' a mass of correspondence on the subject, which correspondence, if we mistake not, resulted in a verdict far from unfavourable to the Planters generally. It was upon this theoretical and mouldy knowledge that he set aside the opinions of the experienced and practical men we have mentioned above, and

upheld the spiteful proceedings of a favourite subordinate, the general fairness and truth of whose statements may be gathered from the following. 'In fact the ryots dare not go to a factory unless protected by a letter from a Magistrate.* Contrast this with the following extract from a letter from Mr. Coëkburn, Deputy Magistrate, to the Government of Bengal, dated 31st December, 1859. 'Again, most European Planters listen to the complaints of their ryots, and if they do not afford them redress, still the Bengal ryot is generally quite satisfied if he can only get at his 'moneeb' and relate his grievances in his loudest voice. He can then go back to his village, and brag about the friendly way he was treated, and this no doubt keeps the lower factory servants somewhat in check. But it is next to impossible for the ryots of a native zemindar to get to him. In the first place, he generally resides miles away, or in quite a different district from his factories, and an ordinary ryot cannot afford the time the journey there and back would occupy; besides no ryot would attempt to face his zemindar without a rupee in his hand as a *nuzzur*. If he was fool enough to present himself without this necessary article, the result would undoubtedly be a shoe-beating and a summary ejection. In fact it would be next to impossible for him to get to his zemindar without previously *feeling the amlah*.' This is the statement of an ex-planter, and the general tone of his letter certainly shows no particular partiality for the members of the profession he once followed. Apart from that, there is really more knowledge of the Mofussil, more insight into the character of the natives displayed in the short extract we have given, than in all the smooth flowing minutes of Mr. Grant. Regarding Mr. Eden's statement that a ryot cannot venture near a factory without a letter from a Magistrate, we only notice it because of its extreme absurdity, and to show the length to which a partisan will go. Our own experience of the Mofussil has been considerable, and we can only call to mind two instances in which we ever received official notes from the hands of a ryot. One was an order, bearing the seal of office, empowering us to seize and impress, in any way we pleased, with as much or as little oppression as we chose, every cart that could be laid hands upon, and send the same immediately to the station for the use of the 'Sircar,' in the year 1857.† The other was

* Letter of Mr. Eden.

† To avoid this hundreds of bullocks were driven into the Terai, carts broken up and the parts secreted, chiefly because of the extortion of the Government servants, through whom their pay would have to pass.

a few months later in the same year. It was a short and hurried note from an official, announcing that he had abandoned the station, and fled to Dinapore, leaving nearly all the Planters, with their wives and children, scattered throughout the district, where many of them remained until after the return of the officials with a body-guard of Sikhs, and not a child even was injured. It is perhaps hardly fair that we should mention this circumstance, for we were especially favoured, no one else, as far as we are aware, having received any notice of the flight or the probable anarchy that might be expected to result, and which assuredly would have resulted had not the presence of the Planters tended to maintain confidence. It is hardly necessary to mention, that, in alluding to the above case, we have no intention of reflecting in any way upon Civilians in general, or their conduct during the trying year of the mutiny. They bore themselves in 1857 as English gentlemen usually do, and the above is almost the only instance of disgraceful panic and abandonment of duty on record.

We cannot do better than close this portion of the subject with a few quotations from a Minute by Sir F. Halliday, in reply to Mr. Sconce's representation of oppression in Nuddea. The man who was knighted for his long service in India, and his able government of Bengal, says in 1854, 'For, granting that the whole of these obviously exaggerated stories were true, or supposing that a commission, instituted as Mr. Sconce would recommend, were to find that these oppressions really were of constant or frequent occurrence, what would follow? not that Indigo planting is inherently vicious and proper to be put down by Legislative enactment, but simply this, that, in the Zillah of Nuddea, the laws were inefficient and the tribunals of no avail; that the strong might oppress the weak with perfect impunity; that crime met with no punishment, and injustice went always unredressed.'

'But if things were really so, if the strong and the violent and the unscrupulous could in Nuddea work their will with impunity, does Mr. Sconce suppose that there would be no oppressors but English Planters? that no violence would be heard of but such as they perpetrated? that there would be nothing to tell of the hardness of Mahajuns or the severity of Zemindars?'

'Or is it to be supposed that the tribunals would be found to be vigilant and impartial towards all but English oppressors, and that none but Planters could commit violence under their jurisdiction?'

'Yet one of these conditions is what must have seemed to Mr. Sconce probable; he heard nothing of any tyranny but Planters' tyranny, and he has not alluded to any other kind of oppression. Had he supposed there was any such, he would surely have included it in his proposed enquiry. He must certainly have supposed, that in a general dissolution of Law and Justice none were found to turn anarchy to account but tyrannous Planters, or else that Law and Justice were in so singular a condition in Nuddea, that they dealt only with wicked natives, and allowed oppressive Planters to commit all sorts of mischief with impunity'

In the letter accompanying the above Minute the following pithy sentence occurs. 'He (the Lieut. Governor) thinks also that in the course of the daily administration of justice in your Court, you must have had, and will still further have opportunities of satisfying your mind, whether Law and Justice are indeed so utterly and shamefully relaxed and inefficient in the Zillah of Nuddea as they must be, if only a part of these enormous allegations be well founded.' This is the logical reply of a man of undoubted ability and immense knowledge of the country and the native character, (real, practical, personal knowledge, not gleaned from musty papers in 1835,) to the recommendation of the honest and well intentioned but feeble-minded late member for Bengal. Mr. Sconce had been then barely three months in an Indigo district, and must have possessed either more honesty or more acuteness than all those who had preceded him; a conclusion neither very complimentary to the service nor truthful. What a contrast between the clear, straightforward writing of Sir F. Halliday and the unworthy dodging of Mr. Grant. Let us take one instance. In an unguarded moment, the planters stated that the Indigo districts were occupied by 'a vast military force,' which was certainly an exaggeration. The statement was only intended to corroborate the assertion that the districts were in a disturbed condition, and was followed by 'where troops were never seen before.' Mark the advantage taken of the slip, while the real question is evaded. Mr. Grant enters into lengthy statistics shewing the exact proportion of troops to the population, and proves, with a chuckle, that the force is not 'vast,' that the districts are not disturbed, that life and property were never safer, and yet, in opposition to this statement, we find in his letter to Mr. Sconce, dated 23rd March 1860, that the people 'are now almost in rebellion to escape the calamity of cultivating a field with Indigo.'

We defend the planter generally, because we believe that, whatever may be his sins, he has not been fairly or honestly treated. In doing so, we must not be supposed to undertake a defence of the system, or the many admitted errors, and, perhaps in some instances, crimes, to which it has led. On the contrary, we give up the system as utterly unsound and altogether most unsatisfactory. But it was not necessarily, universally or even generally criminal, involving a suppression of the 'voice of conscience,' 'avarice and unscrupulousness.* We only notice the 'Blue Mutiny,' at all, because the authorship is attributed to the late president of the Indigo commission, and shall content ourselves with a very few remarks. Perhaps the most glaring and wilful misrepresentation is contained in the clap-trap appeal to country squires at page 101, on the subject of the measurement of land for Indigo. 'Country squires will be staggered to hear that a different standard of measurement prevails in regard to lands marked out for indigo, to that used for any other measurement!' No one knows better than the late president of the Indigo commission, that the *ultimate* result to the Ryot, is not in the least affected by the area he cultivates, but by the number of bundles he produces, and although the practice is an absurd and useless one, it involves neither fraud nor injustice, as this one-sided statement is intended to imply. The author of the 'Blue Mutiny' cannot be so ignorant of the customs of the country as not to know, that a different standard of weight prevails in almost every bazar in India. We buy salt-petre in the North West by a standard about one fourth larger than the one by which it is sold in Calcutta; a different standard prevails for almost every kind of grain, varying in almost every bazar, even when not more than twenty miles apart. It is an absurd and senseless custom, and so was the system of Indigo measurement, and the sooner both are abandoned the better. Why did not the author of the 'Blue Mutiny' proceed to 'stagger' the English squire still further, by informing him that the planter sold his Indigo by a standard about eight pounds lower than the Bazar maund? It would have been equally true, and, if put forward as a 'startling' fact, might have created an impression equally unfair and unjust. Again, 'it is shown conclusively, that in this way contracts were transmitted from the father to the son, and even to the grandson, and that the majority of the cultivators are now those of the second and third generation, who had no option in the matter, and no power to set themselves free!'

* Fraser's Magazine, January, 1861.

There is in this sentence the usual mixture of truth and the reverse, which we find throughout the article. It is, we believe, true that a considerable proportion of the Indigo cultivators are carrying on a cultivation begun by their fathers or even grandfathers, just as Civilians and others follow so generally the professions of *their* fathers. The son of an officer is more likely to enter the army than the son of a Civilian, and we all know that the native of India will go on cultivating a particular article, for no other reason than because his grandfather did it. But this is by no means the only or the chief cause in the present instance. We believe it is true, that the planter managed to keep the Ryot on the wrong side of the factory books, not by fraud or false entries, but by affording him too many facilities for getting into debt, by being, in every thing except Indigo matters, a soft and easy creditor, asking for no interest, and being generally in no hurry. And what native can resist the offer of ready money in advance for services which he trusts to time and chance to give him an opportunity of evading? If the law had been prompt in compelling the fulfilment of the conditions upon which the money was granted, it is quite possible, that only those who were driven to the factory by pressing necessity, might have entered into engagements at all, which, for the sake of present relief from absolute ruin, and of putting off the evil day, they might have consented to carry out. The lax state of the law, or rather the absence of any law suited to the case, no doubt tempted many Ryots to incur obligations which they might have shrunk from, had specific and summary penalties awaited non-fulfilment. Here the planter was undoubtedly wrong. It is a sin to tempt the poor for the purpose of obtaining a power over them, no matter whether the power so obtained is abused or not. We have seen that the planter offered far too many facilities for getting into debt to the factory. We believe the law is, that whoever inherits property inherits its debts, and in this lies the simple solution of the fact (for we do not deny that it may be so), that the cultivators of Indigo are now in the second or third generation. The Ryot took up the *debt*, and not the Indigo contract of his father, and it is quite possible that the planter did not care to inform him, that the only obligation inherited was a money one, which he had only to pay off, in hard cash, to be a free man. This was very likely an impossibility, for where was the money to come from, and so the Indigo cultivation went on. It is a demoralising state of matters, and we cannot hold the planters, who encouraged and fostered it, innocent. But it is, after all, only what exists on a large scale in heavily encumbered estates in England and elsewhere; an

inheritance, whether it consists of half a county in England, or a brass lotah and plough in Bengal, must be taken with its debts, and if they cannot be cleared off, they must be endured. The Ryot would no doubt have been glad to be rid of the hereditary incumbrance,* but without paying for the release, and in all the evidence taken, we cannot call to mind a single instance where payment was tendered and refused.

We believe that the 'bad balances,' standing in most Factory books, would have been written off to profit and loss long ago, but that retaining them gave a certain power over the Ryot, which the planter was unwilling to give up, although he had no hope of ever recovering a rupee. It was part of a bad system which we do not for a moment defend, and there can be no doubt that too much risk was thrown on the ryot. If the planter had consented to openly take a share of the risk, which he virtually and actually did, as is proved by his 'bad balances,' a constant source of discontent would have been removed. Again, the measurement of bundles system, putting it in the best possible light, is admitted to have been unjust, as well as unsatisfactory to those most concerned, to the planter as well as the ryot, and profitable only to a thieving Amlah. Its condemnation was pretty general, and there was nothing to be gained by such a gratuitous departure from truth as the following: 'an iron chain which is made 'to compress the stalks as much as a *strong limbed inhabitant of 'upper India* can compress them.' The author of the 'Blue Mutiny,' while professing to give a fair representation of an important question, has descended to clap-trap appeals unworthy of what he upholds as a just cause, and the quotations we have given will show that it contains neither the truth, the whole truth, nor nothing but the truth.

We have given up the system as indefensible, but we believe it was more foolish and short-sighted than criminal. Mr. Grant says, it was inherited by the present generation; he might have added, from the honorable E. I. Company: and this is not the only system which the honorable Company handed down, and which has ended in something not unlike the bankruptcy and ruin which has overtaken the planters. It was their system that caused the mutiny. It was their system of reckless extravagance and loose expenditure, that caused the just past (?) financial crisis. They too, like the planters, worked upon borrowed capital, and so low was their credit that few could be found to lend, and the rate of interest had to be repeatedly raised to induce contributions. In 1857 their 'block' was as low in public estimation as the planters' now is, and could be purchased at from forty to seventy per

cent discount in the North West. The Bengal planting system was perhaps suited to the time in which it was instituted; but that time has passed away, and we can no more blame the planter for not seeing a-head, than we can blame the honorable Company for not discerning the approach of the mutiny and preparing to meet it. We do, however, blame both, for the signs of the times were as palpable in the one case as in the other; but blindness and want of the faculty of peering into the future may not amount to a crime, although it may be little short of one in men whose place it is to guard and rule and watch over a great empire. Both are guilty, but what different results have followed. The blindness of the planter has cost a few lacs of rupees, and the worldly ruin of perhaps a score or two; the fatuity of the other has been paid for with oceans of blood and millions of money. It was said that the mutiny was inevitable, that it was a wonder it did not occur sooner. Mr. Layard stood over the 'well' at Cawnpore and wondered if we deserved it! Mr. Grant says the fall of the planting system was also inevitable, and wonders that it was propped up so long.* But let us see the different treatment which the delinquents have received. On the one hand, those who inherited and carried on an old world system have been partially ruined, and mercilessly traduced, and on the other we find the same men sitting in higher places than before the break down of *their* system.

The measurement system of both has helped their downfall. The grasping measurement which included Oude, and fifty other places, in their 'Cultivation,' had at least as much to do with the mutiny as the different standards of the Planter with his rebellion. It is not to establish the innocence of the Planter that we write, but to show that those who have taken up the first stone, and cast it with a strength only to be accounted for by political insanity, are not themselves sinless.

We feel that an apology is required for referring at all to the vindictive evidence of Mr. Latour, and we do so with reluctance, but a few words are necessary, not because of the value of his testimony, but on account of his position. A Judge is a Judge, and the evidence of one in that position might carry weight with those, whose ideas of Judges are formed from knowledge of English functionaries. In answer No. 3918 of the Indigo Commissioners' Blue Book, Mr. Latour says: 'There is one thing more I wish to state, that considerable odium has been thrown upon the Mis-

* Appendix to Indigo Commission No. 12, abduction of Haromoni.

'sionaries, for saying that not a chest of Indigo reached England without being stained with human blood. That has been stated to be an anecdote. That expression is mine, and I adopt it in the fullest and broadest sense of its meaning, as the result of my experience as Magistrate in the Furreedpore* district.' Mr. Latour adopts the statement in the 'fullest and broadest' sense, that is that not a chest of Indigo reaches England unstained with human gore. Now let us look a little further on. In answer No. 3926, Mr. Latour says 'I was thoroughly satisfied that no oppression whatever existed in the districts of Dinagepore, Malda, Bhagulpore, Monghir, Shahabad, and Gya, I might add that I am well aware that we have nothing of this kind in Patna, Tirhoot, and Chuprah.' Here we have a list of nine districts in which Mr. Latour declares that no oppression exists. The total quantity of Indigo exported may be taken at an average of a lac of maunds, though generally above that, and the district of Furreedpore has yielded, for the last ten years, not more than two thousand five hundred maunds per annum, or say two and a half per cent. This is the 'fullest and broadest' sense of Mr. Latour, and we will not dispute it. Need we say another word upon such evidence as this. If it had been given before a commission of Lunacy instead of an Indigo one, it would, we doubt not, have had full weight given to it!

Great as the misfortune might be to the country and to the individuals interested, if cruelty and oppression were the necessary accompaniments of Indigo cultivation, we should say, in Heaven's name let that cultivation be abolished, let it no longer remain a blot and a stain upon the land. Mr. Grant says the ryots are slaves, and for one moment we accept his statement. But he says they are inherited slaves, that the wrong is one of past generations chiefly. The Planters have been heirs, and their inheritance has been sanctioned by Government for generations.

There was once another case of grievous wrong, far worse than the mind of the worst Indigo Planter ever conceived, also an inherited one, also a sanctioned one, for as many generations, and how was it righted? When, with the advance of civilization the moral perception of the government and the people of England became brighter and purer, it was determined that the 'cattle,' with human souls should be set free at any sacrifice, and it was done at a sacrifice unparalleled in the history of the

* Appendix No. 2, Indigo Commissioners' Blue Book puts down under the head of 'serious offences' four cases in five years in Furreedpore.

world. Not by proclamations inciting rebellion amongst the slaves, not by telling them that they might offer 'irresistible pleas,' (though God knows they might have done so,) not by traducing their masters and holding them up as patterns of cruelty and corruption. No, vested rights, though vested in human flesh and blood, were respected, *because they had been inherited*, and because they had been sanctioned by those who now wished for their abolition, and—we need not tell how it was done, for every school boy knows.

There were two courses open to the Lieutenant Governor, by which to remedy the evils, the partial existence of which we do not deny. He might have adopted the West Indian one, and was bound to do so, if he believed that the ruin of vested and inherited rights must precede emancipation; and we have his own statement to pretty nearly that effect.* 'I do not believe that the most sanguine of those who expected the sudden and violent break-up of a false system, ever expected that the crisis would pass over so peacefully as it has done, and on the whole, with so little injury to the great interest at stake.' It appears then that the most sanguine anticipated greater ruin than has accrued, so, surely, here was a case for compensation. It must not be forgotten for a moment, that it is the system, (it was the system in the West Indies,) and not the individual Planter that is held responsible for the evils attending the production of 'a Blue dye,' as Mr. Grant calls it, reminding one of Mrs. Caudle's definition of billiards, 'pushing balls over a green cloth.' It is Mr. Grant that has forced the comparison upon us. He has laboured to prove that ryots cultivating Indigo are in a state of 'predial slavery,' that, though they cannot be bought and sold with a halter round their necks, they possessed, under a free and Christian government, of which he has been a member for thirty years, no more actual liberty than the African whose soul and body had been purchased for a handful of glass beads, or, second hand, for so many dollars. If Mr. Grant's statements are true, the Bengal ryot must be in a far worse position than the Negro, for the Planter is free from some of the obligations of the slave holder. Self interest, in the one case, compelled the provision of food and raiment, which it does not in the other. Mr. Grant may say that he has not compared the position of the ryot with that of the African slave. It is true that he has not directly done so, but we have always understood that the word 'slavery' was short for all

manner of oppression, such as is attributed to the Planters. We are far from holding such extreme opinions, or from believing that the cases are in any way parallel; we believe that the errors of the planting system could have been corrected in a manner as simple as it was just. It would have been easy for Mr. Grant, through the officials of the Indigo districts, or easier, and better still, through the Planters' Association, to have made known his dissatisfaction with the system of Indigo cultivation; with the purely commercial question he had no right to interfere, and he was not called upon to do so. It was Mr. Grant's place, and it was clearly his duty, to prohibit any individual, no matter what his profession or character might be, from usurping the place of the law, and taking it into his own hands. But before the state is warranted in depriving a man of the means of self defence, it is bound to undertake, and show that it has the means, to guarantee the safety of his person and property. It is to be presumed that the power of self-defence which was hitherto allowed the Planter, was, in some measure, intended to reconcile him to the absence of more formal justice, and much that he has done under such license has been winked at to keep him quiet, and to prevent the cry for reform, which he was sure to raise, if interfered with, from being heard and causing enquiry. Mr. Grant's policy has been the reverse of what we have stated to be the acknowledged and fair rule. He has deprived the man of his weapons, (bad and dangerous ones, but under the circumstances necessary,) and has, until compelled reluctantly by higher authority, virtually refused the protection which, in their stead, he was bound to supply; and here we must refer to the suggestions on this head contained in the report of the Indigo Commissioners. But before doing so, we may be allowed to state a difficulty into which many have fallen while speaking of the report. We are quite unable to decide whether the report of the Indigo Commissioners influenced Mr. Grant, or whether Mr. Grant influenced the Commissioners. The first remark made by the Commissioners, when approaching the question of reform, will scarcely encourage the hope that any thing wise or liberal will be suggested. They say, with reference to the appointment of Planters as Honorary Magistrates, 'as a question of principle, there can be no doubt that the measure is *not* in accordance with the rule hitherto observed in Bengal.' As the rule 'hitherto observed in Bengal,' is the subject of almost universal condemnation, we should have thought this alone a pretty good reason for giving the measure a trial. The reason assigned is one, which, if carried out, would deprive every English squire of his commission of the peace,

namely having an interest in the district.* The sum total of reform suggested by the commissioners is contained in one remark: 'Let sub-divisions and Magistrates be multiplied as the 'executive Government may think fit.' In the first place we all know what the executive Government 'thought fit' to do, and if the suggestion had been carried out in its widest sense, let us see what the commissioners themselves expected from it. 'But if the above provisions are honestly worked by competent Judges (half were to be natives,) not overburdened with arrears, and if the appellate courts have leisure to take up appeals as they become ripe for decision, it is quite clear that suits, other than suits for real property, *may* become as summary as the 'nature of things will allow.' Two 'ifs' and a 'may' in one sentence, and that the sentence upon which property to the value of several millions depended. Does not this fully justify the remark of the leading Journal of the world 'that in the decision of the majority, human incompetency had reached its height.' The course of events, since this practical denial of reform, or even the necessity for it, was issued, is a sufficient proof of incompetency, for all the measures which the majority opposed have since been adopted, but most of them too late. Special legislation was resorted to, to meet a difficulty which 'the nature of things' would not allow of being overcome in any other way, and was only thwarted by ignorance and arbitrary power, greater even than that of the majority. Why it was so thwarted it is not difficult to perceive. The decision of the majority was adopted by Mr. Grant and acted upon, or, as we said before, the majority acted in accordance with his known bias and fixed determination, that there should be no reform that could in any way favour the Planter. All the measures of Mr. Grant, as explained in his own minute,† met with the fullest approval of the Supreme Government, and he was assured of its 'cordial support,' if he continued to act on the principle on which he had hitherto acted. The Contract Act of Mr. Beadon met with the strongest opposition from Mr. Grant, and yet the Government, which had promised him 'cordial support,' altogether forgetful of the inconsistency, determined to pass it in spite of him. The melancholy result we have seen. The Supreme Government was either wrong in affording its 'cordial support' to Mr. Grant, or it was

* The Lieut. Governor of the North West Provinces has recommended the appointment of zemindars as Honorary Magistrates with jurisdiction *limited* to their own estates.

† Minute of 17th August 1860.

wrong to attempt to pass a bill which he opposed. The introduction of the Contract Act, the appointment of Small Cause Courts, the naming of Special Commissioners, were all measures thrust upon Mr. Grant by those, who afforded him the fullest approval to his refusal of them all! The inconsistency is too glaring to need further illustration, and was no doubt plain enough to Sir C. Wood. We conceive that Mr. Grant's chief condemnation is contained, not so much in what he has done actively *against* the planters, although instances and evidences of personal enmity are unfortunately not wanting, as in what he has refused to do *for* them. Active persecution was not required to complete their ruin; it was sufficient to let things remain as they were, and it was done. If honest convictions and motives of policy, however mistaken, ever influenced Mr. Grant, they have long since merged in a personal quarrel, in a war of recrimination of the bitterest, and, for a Governor, of the most undignified description. Great indeed must be the oppression which can justify a Governor in banishing millions of capital from a land, in which, in seasons of distress or famine, every rupee may be a month's life to a starving fellow creature.*

Amongst a very large class, Mr. Grant has obtained credit, in contradistinction to the violence of his accusers, for moderation of views and language. Here it will be necessary to introduce rather a long extract from official correspondence to show, that Mr. Grant's claim to praise on the ground of moderate views and temperate language, is not so well founded as appears to be generally supposed. At the same time we may take the opportunity of remarking that, important as the Indigo question is in itself, we should not have dwelt upon it at such length, but for the fact, that it may be looked upon as the *Casus Belli* on which the great battle of the independent European is to be fought. If the legislation and the reform necessary for the protection of this interest cannot be obtained, it is vain to look for cotton, or any other of the thousand products India is capable of yielding under the intelligent supervision† of English capitalists. Mr. Grant has asserted that Indigo Planters are the only class demanding special legislation, that sugar producers and others find no difficulty in carrying on their business under the present laws. The first part of the assertion is no longer true,‡ if it

* Great distress, is now impending in Bengal, owing to the damage done to the rice crops by rain and inundation.

† Lord Canning has just stated that in knowledge of cultivation the ryot has nothing to learn!

‡ Petition of Landholders' Association in favor of the Contract Act.

ever was; and the statement, that no demand was made on behalf of other interests, is accounted for by the fact, that no other agricultural interest, conducted by Europeans, with a thousandth part of the capital, or of the same precarious nature, had any existence. As soon as they make their appearance, we find them join in the clamour with the same zeal and readiness as the planters.* Special legislation has been objected to on the ground of its being opposed to English law and English customs, and Mr. Grant asserts that if Indigo paid the Ryot there would be no fear of his breaking his contract. We all know that honesty is the best policy in the long run, but Mr. Grant will scarcely be prepared to deny, that, even if Indigo cultivation did pay the Ryot, the taking of advances, and *not* working them off, would pay him better, and this is what he has now practically the power of doing. The moral obligation of a contract has no existence in Bengal. Let us see how English principles of legislation are adhered to when it suits Mr. Grant's purposes to propose a departure from them. On the 17th of August 1860, in his reply to the assertion of '*confusion*' made by the Planters' Association, Mr. Grant says para. 3. 'There are no affrays, no forcible entries and unlawful carrying off of crops and cattle, no ploughing up of other men's lands * * * since about July 1859. I have not heard of a single case of lawless violence in Nuddea† For thirteen months, or nearly a year before the Indigo Commission commenced its sittings,‡ no single case of affray occurred in Nuddea, comprising two of the largest Indigo districts in Bengal. It was necessary to show some such result as this to prove the wisdom and success of his measures, and Mr. Grant, with the usual shortsightedness of those who seek to establish a case without scruple as to the means, makes it stronger than turns out to be convenient only four days later. We must now refer to the proposed departure from the principles of English legislation alluded to above, and we beg particular attention to the following extracts, bearing a date only four days later than the statement that affrays and disturbances of all kinds had ceased for thirteen months. One case of affray occurred in the Nuddea division on the 18th of June, and upon that one isolated case an affray law upon the Draco model is demanded.

* See recommendation of Bombay Chamber of Commerce, petitions of Tea Planters and others.

† In appendix No. 2 to Indigo Commissions' report we find a tabular statement signed by Mr. Herschel giving a list of *twenty five* "*serious offences*" which had occurred in Nuddea between January and the 15th August 1860!

‡ Commission opened its sittings on the 18th May 1860.

Mr. Grant only mentions this one, for he dared not adduce the twenty-five others of which he had denied the existence.

'The affair seems to the Lieutenant Governor to be one of a class of cases, *the frequency of which*, under a civilized Government, must be felt to be a disgrace both to the administration and the legislature of the country. Whoever does not take all reasonable and fit measures to prevent such outrages, so far as lies in his power, participates as an individual in this disgrace.'

'The Lieutenant Governor is convinced, and, as far as he is aware, all persons of Indian experience are convinced, that, in order to prevent such cases, a law, specially suited to the peculiar circumstances of this country, is indispensable, and, that he may not participate in the disgrace, which will continue to attack somewhere, if this shameful state of things continue, the Lieutenant Governor desires to urge upon you, in the strongest manner, to move the Legislature to pass a law, having this object, appropriate to the country for which it is their function to legislate. *The Lieutenant Governor begs that you will press upon the Council that they are not legislating for Middlesex, but for Bengal; and, therefore, that it is no argument against a law which is to be applied to Bengal, that such a law would be objected to in Middlesex. It is only because India requires peculiar legislation that it has a special legislature of its own.*

'Here is a case in which, according to the report, there can be no doubt, in the mind of any reasonable man, about the originators of the outrage, or their motive. Even if the report of the local officers were contested as to any point of fact or inference, the argument for a law would remain the same, because it cannot be questioned that affrays, with murder, such as the affair here reported, instigated by those interested in Zemindaries, Indigo Factories, Farms and other such concerns are common in Bengal. *If gentlemen hesitate to legislate suitably for the suppression of such outrages, because of notions of legislation such as are naturally and properly in vogue in England*, let them imagine what changes would come over the feelings of English Legislators if such affairs as this were to become common in England, the real criminals, who cause and profit by the outrages, being as perfectly secure from all legal penalty, as the most innocent infants in the country.

'The Lieutenant Governor therefore presses for the enactment of an Affray Law on the principle originally suggested; which is to subject to *very* heavy fine all persons in whose interest affrays are committed, and all persons whose *houses or lands* have been made use of by the persons guilty of such outrage in the

'course of the act, who cannot prove that they and their servants, for whom they are responsible, did all that it was possible for them to do, in order to prevent the crime.

'It is for cases where proof is impossible that a law is required the effect of which will be to deprive the originators of such crimes of the guilty profit for which alone they are committed. This will go to the root of the evil.

'The mere execution of the Criminal Law upon the low agents hired for such purposes as this, will not in Bengal put a stop to this class of offence. If a dozen of the lattials and spear-men who murdered Panchoo are hanged for the crime, the effect would probably not be to raise the hire of such ruffians, for such purposes, by two annas a day. This will not touch the instigators. It was not the lattials and spearmen who, according to the present report of the case, and, indeed, according to any rational hypothesis concerning it, had an object in kidnapping, with the chance of killing this influential Ryot. Those whose object this was, having no law to fear for themselves, will not be deterred from doing the like again by the mere punishment of their vile instruments.

'Besides the provision for the prevention of affrays above recommended, the Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that the mere collection, harbouring, or concealing of Lattials in a house, out-house, or office, should subject the owner or possessor, or master of servants in possession, to heavy fine; and that the hiring or assembling of Lattials or Peons, or other men not being mere labourers, in excess of a number of retainers to be registered by the Magistrates, should be highly penal. As these men are procurable through their captains at a day's notice, it is only by punishing those, who harbour and conceal them, when collecting, that the Law can attain its object in discouraging the employment of braves of this sort.'

This is the letter of a man whose temper had for the time quite overcome his prudence. It was very mortifying after the unqualified statement of the 17th, of the 'practical introduction of the supremacy of the law' to have to record on the 21st, that 'the healthy state of things,' of which he had boasted, had no existence. And yet this is what Mr. Grant has done, if there is any meaning in English. He says 'this is one of a class of cases the frequency of which under a civilized Government &c.' There is no mincing the matter; one of the statements must be at variance with the truth. When it was necessary to vindicate his conduct and to disprove the charge of 'confusion,' he asserts that property is every where 'involute,' and that it

had been so for thirteen months; that there were 'no affrays.' We have shown above that this statement is totally devoid of truth. We have dropped the five months, from July 1859 to January 1860, and taken only the seven months of 1860, preceding Mr. Grant's declaration, with the exception of the first case which occurred 3rd December 1859, that there were 'no affrays,' that property was every where 'involute' since July 1859. The first case is thus headed by Mr. Herschel '*Illegal assemblage, assault, wounding.*' The cases are variously headed 'assault and wounding,' 'plunder and wounding,' 'assault and riotous assemblage,' '*Tumultuous assemblage*' 'Riotous assemblage and attempted attack on the Amjhupi Factory' (Dismissed.) The last in the list is 'violent assault and false imprisonment,' and we are told in English, certainly not entirely after Lindley Murray's own heart, 'This statement is published at length, on account of the important space this district has lately filled in public estimation.' Mr. Grant cannot be surprised if, after such misrepresentation as this is proved against him, his assertions fail to carry conviction, and are duly weighed, to see if they are probable, if he has any motive in misleading, before they are accepted as facts. When a case was to be made out to justify the introduction of a law, which would practically subject every man who could not prove a negative to a *very* heavy fine, or even, it is hinted, 'capital punishment,' Mr. Grant does not hesitate to demand this law because of the '*frequency of the cases*' of which he triumphantly announced the abolition under the ordinary law for thirteen months, *in the very same district.* Here are two statements directly opposed to each other, made within four days of each other, each having a distinct and separate motive, and it is a grievous but undeniable fact that one or other of them must be absolutely false. The truth, as we have shown, lies between the two statements, and, therefore, both are incorrect. The 'supremacy of the Law' has never been such as Mr. Grant affirmed it was, and the 'frequency of the cases' never so great as to demand, or in any way justify, the introduction of such a law as he proposes, compared with which martial law and the combined tyranny of Naples and Austria would be as nothing. Mr. Grant 'presses' for the enactment of a law * * which is to subject to a *very heavy fine* all persons in whose interest affrays are committed. All persons whose homes or lands have been made use of by the persons guilty of such outrages * * who cannot prove that they and their servants, for whom they are responsible, did all that it was possible for them to do in order to prevent the crime. It is truly lamentable to see the ruler of

a country larger than England and Scotland put together, so swayed by private pique, party feeling, and anger as to make him forget that truth and justice are above all things, and that he holds his high appointment to uphold the one and to dispense the other. If an affray were to take place upon any man's land, (it might be that he resided in Calcutta and his land lay in Jessore,) unless he could prove that he 'and his servants' had done all that was possible to prevent the crime, he must be subjected to very heavy fine. There is a clause in this act which, if carried out, would embrace some criminals whom Mr. Grant assuredly never meant it to include. The land in all India belongs to the Government, and Mr. Grant and his Magistrates are clearly 'responsible' for the Police. Did Mr. Grant intend that he and his Magistrates should be subjected to heavy fine for every case of torture and oppression and affray, originating with the Police? '*It is for cases where proof is impossible that a law is required,*' says Mr. Grant. 'This will go to the root of the evil.' Now we ask in the name of common sense, in the name of justice and fair play, was ever such a principle of legislation propounded since the time of the Druids? How a law can be expected to go 'to the root of an evil' which is to dispense with the one thing needful to the application of a law, namely proof, we leave it to others to point out, for we cannot.

In the same Blue Book* we find a proclamation from Mr. Herschel, without date, addressed to ryots, who appear to have been amusing themselves by 'pelting' some planters with clods. After pointing out this 'great folly,' Mr. Herschel says, 'I shall send the Military police into that village whose inhabitants 'again unjustly beat a Sahib.' We do not believe Mr. Herschel had any intention of stating that they were at liberty to beat a Sahib, provided they did it justly, yet this is the clear meaning of the language, and can we doubt that the Ryots understood it so? We are far from wishing to impute bad motives to any one, but when we find that the mistakes have *all* one tendency, it is at least strange, if not suspicious. We have not been able to lay our finger upon a single instance, where the ambiguity could in any way be construed in favor of the Planter. We have not attempted to exonerate the Planters from the blame which can be justly attached to them, and it is by no means slight, but we have endeavoured to show that the faults of the Planter have been viewed through a powerful magnifier, and those of the Civil Service, and especially of the Lieutenant Governor, through a diminishing glass.

We have seen that Mr. Grant followed the advice of those who recommended that he should do nothing. It would have been well for him, and for all, if he had adopted the wise and just suggestions contained in the able Minute of Mr. Temple, (the only unprejudiced and by far the most talented member of the Commission,) and concurred in by Mr. Fergusson. In this able paper we find no such insinuations as the following; 'as regards the knocking down of houses, gentlemen of undoubted veracity have seen places where houses had been, and have known* *Indigo growing* on deserted homesteads, understanding that the Ryot had absconded after some dispute, and that their houses had been demolished † We say it would have been well for Mr. Grant if he had adopted the wise suggestion of Mr. Temple, instead of listening to the advice of those, whose recent acts‡ of spiteful meanness have brought more shame upon his Government, than all the injustice that has been perpetrated under or by it. It is a melancholy but undoubted fact, that a mean or ungentlemanly act meets with far more universal reprobation than more serious crimes, and the present instance is a striking proof of it. 'It is mean,' is the universal exclamation of those who will not trouble themselves to form any opinion upon its injustice. 'It was ungentlemanly,' and that is considered a stronger condemnation than 'unchristian.' More than that, it was a gross 'mistake,' which has been said to be the greatest crime of all.

It is denied that the Ryots ever laboured under the impression that it was the wish of the Government that Indigo cultivation should cease, or that they would have obeyed had a direct order been given to that effect, and yet Mr. Grant quotes a passage from Mr. Herschel's report, (page 467 of the Blue Book) proving beyond doubt that such was the impression. Mr. Herschel says 'I went to one of the villages in the Khalboleah Con- cern, where the Ryots refused to sow. On explaining the law 'to them they submitted, it being clear that they had taken ad- vances. "If that is the order of Government," they said "of "course we must sow," this is the general feeling.' There can be but one meaning in this. It is, as if the Ryots had said, 'We took advances, but did not intend to sow, being under

* If the gentlemen of undoubted veracity were *personally acquainted* with the Indigo, as this sentence states they were, it is a pity they did not ask it who put it there, and the history of the Ryot who had formerly occupied the land.

† Commissioners' Report para. 89.

‡ Circulation of Nil Darpan under Government frank.

'the impression that Government either did not wish or would not compel us to fulfil our engagements; but if it is the wish of the Government that we should do so, of course we must.' It is clear that the Ryots required to be specially and individually informed that it was the wish of the Government that they should be honest, they having entertained a contrary opinion. What must have been the conduct of Government to create such an impression. Let our readers judge. The passage we have last quoted appears in the margin of Mr. Grant's Minute of the 17th August, to which we have had so often to refer, and could hardly have escaped Lord Canning's notice. If such a document had been submitted to Lord Dalhousie! Since he left India we have had disaster after disaster, mutiny after mutiny, Black, White, and Blue.* We are writing of the Government of Bengal and not of the Supreme Government, but it is impossible

* Mr. Grant had his share in the Black, as Governor of the central provinces in 1859, and managed it pretty much after the manner of the present Blue one; but he had less power. Does Mr. Grant remember the discharge of 70 Christians from the Levy at Benares? His character is thus described in the clearest work of that time, so well known as the "*Red Pamphlet*." "Mr. Grant was a very different character. In the prime of life, active, energetic, and possessed of a certain amount of ability, he might, had he been trained in any other school, have done good service on the occurrence of a crisis. Unfortunately, he laboured under a complete ignorance of the habits and customs of the natives of upper India, accustomed, during his service, to deal only with Bengalees (in Calcutta), he had imbibed the extraordinary notion that they were a type of the Hindustanees generally. His vanity was so great that he would not stoop to demand information, even from practical men of his own service. With the supercilious manner, which is so often the accompaniment of a confined understanding, he pooh-pooh'd every suggestion which was at variance with his settled ideas. Of the Sepoys he had no knowledge whatever, although with respect to them he was always ready to offer a suggestion. Of military men in general he had a jealous dislike, which prompted him on every occasion to oppose any plans or suggestions offered by a member of that profession. He was an adept at intrigue, and being possessed of a practical knowledge of revenue matters, a plausible manner, an easy address, and considerable influence at the India House, he had gained a seat in Council at an earlier age than was customary. As a practical man he had always been a failure. It was his advice, given because Mr. Halliday proposed an opposite plan, which delayed for seven or eight months, the proclamation of martial law in the Santhal districts; and it will be seen that on the occasion of the Mutiny at Barrackpore his pernicious influence was always opposed to those prompt and severe measures, on the execution of which the safety of the empire depended. These faults are attributable to the evil action of the school in which he was trained, on a disposition naturally haughty and supercilious. Had he never been a civilian, had he been trained to depend on his own exertions from the moment of his entrance into life, his career would have been more useful to his country and more honourable to himself."

to forget, that the misrule of the one could not have been continued for a day, but for the 'cordial support' of the other. We fear that Lord Canning is but too ready to afford 'cordial support' to any one who will save him trouble. It is deputations he most fears, and if they can be kept off, things may drift on. Indolence and amiability, combined, have placed him in the position of the unjust Judge, for all that he has done, he has done because of importunity, and what was truly said of his measures in 1857, may be as truly said in 1861. The Post Office stamps 'Too late' and 'Insufficient' would apply as well to the special Commissioners in Bengal, as to the treatment of mutineers at Dinapore.

It is as untrue to assert that the present strife about a 'Blue Dye' in Bengal is a war of principle, as it is for the Northern states of America to proclaim (which they are beginning to do,) that they are warring against slavery. It is a personal strife arising out of hereditary jealousy, intensified by supposed interest. No, the free states as readily yielded up the escaped slave to torture and death, as Mr. Grant's Courts have, for the last half century, handed over the recusant ryot to *his* persecutor. There was, perhaps, a murmur of disapproval in both cases, and it must be admitted that the free states offered greater facilities for the recovery of 'property' than the Government of Bengal, but we have never heard that the 'difficulties' in Bengal were intended as a feeble substitute for emancipation.

It is a remarkable fact that, where the initiation of a 'system' was left to the Interloper himself, it has given general satisfaction, and has not been rebelled against. It is only where the Honourable East India Company established it, and then handed it over to its servants 'to afford them a means of remitting their 'fortunes home, as well as for the benefit of Bengal' that the system has been found to be rotten.

The district of Tirhoot (including the smaller districts of Chumparun and Chupra, where the system is the same,) produces from one fourth to one third of the whole out-turn. As the Tirhoot system has not been attacked, it is not necessary to enter upon a defence of it, but a few remarks, pointing out, not that it is barely tolerable to the natives, but a positive and great benefit to them, may be useful. It is admitted that the Tirhoot Ryot can sustain no loss. A Tirhoot Factory capable of producing 1,000 maunds of Indigo, in a good season, will spend from eighty thousand to a lac of rupees, at least sixty thousand of which will be expended, within a radius of ten miles. The land actually occupied with Indigo will not, on an average exceed

one twentieth of the area known as the '*Dehaut*.'* The Ryot has therefore nineteen-twentieths of the land at his own disposal, and for the remaining twentieth there is probably more actual cash expended than for all the rest. The average rent may be taken at two rupees per bigah, and the average cost of cultivation, including *nij* and *ryotty* not under, and now considerably over, twenty rupees, or ten times the rental of the land. The benefit of this is so self-evident, that we need not do more than simply mention it as a fact capable of the clearest proof. A factory, of the size mentioned above, will require, during the manufacture, at least five hundred carts, and the usual advance made for each (from one to two months before they are required,) may be safely taken at twelve rupees. It is frequently much more, and we have known Ryots receive as much as thirty rupees to enable them to buy bullocks. All this is given without interest, and, in the case of the Ryot who receives thirty rupees, it cannot possibly be worked off under two years, and may take three. Carts are comparatively useless in Bengal for there are no roads, but this is not the case in Tirhoot. There are some excellent 'Imperial' roads made from funds raised locally by Ferries. Some Planters are on the Ferry Fund committee, and it is not unusual to give the Planter near whose Factory an 'Imperial' road passes, the charge of that portion of it, whether a member of the Committee or not. Besides the above, each Factory has roads of its own, made and maintained at its own expense, *but open to all*, without exception, unless it happens to run through the Factory compound. We are quite safe, indeed we are probably far below the mark when we state, that there cannot be less than 200 miles of private road, private only in the sense of being made from private resources, in this one district. It will be a great and glorious day for India when those who are an 'embarrassment to the Government' assert, in a similar manner, their 'indefeasible rights' from one end of the land to the other.

It is *contact*, constant, daily contact, with the European, and that only that will surely but slowly regenerate India. It is that only that will remove the 'antagonism of race' of which, a great part, as it stands at present, has sprung from and been perpetuated in the Council Chamber of Calcutta. The European abhors his customs, condemns his immorality and lying, but does not hate the native. If an approach to such a feeling does exist, it can be traced to those who for years have struggled to place

* The area over which the Factory influence is supposed to extend.

his property, his liberty and his life at the mercy of Idolaters, to subject him to the jurisdiction of a people whose very souls are tainted with hereditary corruption, the pollution of centuries. If such attempts were only made by the avowed, the known enemies of the Interloper, it would be matter which could create no surprise; but it is painful to find those we most respect joined with them, led away in pursuit of the phantom of the equality of the two races, conjured up by benevolence, and springing from the wish that it might be. It is the earnest wish of all who care for India and its millions of benighted, degraded inhabitants, that the Asiatic should equal the European, but many a generation will pass away before this comes to pass. There are two ways of producing equality, one by filling up hollows, and the other by cutting down elevations; and the last is the plan adopted by our rulers, either because the cutting down is pleasant, or because the filling up seems hopeless. The next most agreeable thing to climbing to the top is to pull down those who are there, and need we wonder if the British Indian Association adopts the arguments of its advocates in Council, and proclaims with a loud voice the 'eternal principle' that all men are equal, and yet the members of the British Indian Association would consider it pollution to enter the room in which a 'Dome'* was engaged in laying down a mat. Is there a native in all India who, after the events of 1857, would have dared to raise his voice in opposition, if the name of European had been entirely omitted from the Arms Act? There is one kind of equality which is possible and which we should all rejoice to see. Let the law for the native, let the courts to which he is amenable be made as pure as the Supreme Court. Let the object be to make the law equally good, not equally bad for all. Let us have no more such childish foolishness as this, 'If it is good enough for the native it is good enough for the European.' It is *not* good enough for the native, never was, and never will be, until the whole system is changed, until trained men take the place of ignorant boys.

It would be a great mistake to suppose, that because the great benefit of Indigo to the population in general is clearly demonstrated, there are no difficulties arising from a corrupt police, and the want of a practical, available and summary law in Tirhoot.†

* Domes are low caste men who eat dead animals, and are employed up country in making and laying down bamboo mats. We have seen a Rajpoot refuse to enter a room in which one was so employed.

† On one occasion, on being refused an unreasonable demand, 400 cartmen struck in the middle of the manufacture, and walked off to their villages. What was the Planter to do? If he entered a civil summary

There are difficulties which can only be met by a Contract Act. But it is a curious fact that the farther we proceed from the seat of Government, the greater number of miles we put between us and the Bengal Civilians, the more tranquil and peaceful we find the people, and the more respected we find the Planters. 'A running stream would appear to have a similar power in checking this, as well as some other evil influences, for no sooner do we cross the Kurrunnassa* than we find the Commissioner reporting, 'The Planters are almost invariably a blessing to the surrounding country. If a landed proprietor is pressed for money he gets a loan from a Planter, and in return gives him a good deal of land to cultivate Indigo upon. If a poor tenant is being squeezed by an oppressive landlord, and is in danger of forfeiting his tenant-right, he takes an advance from the Planter to free himself from his difficulties, and gives him half his fields to sow Indigo in. I have known this district for eleven years, and have never heard of any oppression on the part of the Planters, whom I have always, on the contrary, found to be the firm supporters of the law, and ever ready to assist in looking after the peace of the district, and in caring for the roads and public thoroughfares in their neighbourhoods.'

It is thus all the way up, beginning, we may say, at Bhagulpore till in the North West we lose nearly all trace of the 'Blue Dye,' in the districts between Delhi and the Punjaub. It cannot be fully accounted for by the different habits, or by the higher morals of the people. They are undoubtedly a finer, hardier and more manly race than the Bengallee, but the morality of the Delhi Mussalman and the Goojur of the surrounding territory is about upon a par with that of the Bengallee, and their fanaticism and detestation of the "Kaffir" far greater; so we must look for a complete solution of the problem elsewhere, and we shall not have to look far before we find one. Does the Civilian out of Bengal keep a tighter hand upon his countrymen than the Civilian in Bengal? Does he keep the Interloper at a greater distance, and thus secure greater freedom from bias, which, it has been asserted, intimacy creates, as well as a feeling of distrust in the minds of natives? Does the Civilian of the

suit, it was possible that a decree might have been obtained in time for next season and 100,000 Rs. would have been lost. He took a shorter plan. He sent for the Darogah of the adjoining Tannah, only a mile distant, gave him 50 Rupees and the carts were at their work next day! Some time after he mentioned the circumstance to the Magistrate. It is very horrible, but who is to blame? Let Mr. Grant answer.

* The limit of lower Bengal.

North West condone that which his fellow Civilian in Bengal so loudly reprobates, but yet tolerated so long, when his love for the Interloper was assuredly not greater than it is now? We know that it is none of these things, for we are told that out of Bengal there is nothing to condone; that it is only surrounding the very throne of Bengal that 'oppression and cruelty' and tyranny have any existence. We know that the Civilian and the Planter meet on terms of intimacy and equality, (when both are gentlemen,) drawing together and becoming more friendly, until jealousy is almost lost, precisely in proportion as the distance from Calcutta is counted by tens or by hundreds of miles.* It is the 'system' that has done it all, or nearly all, for we are willing to allow *something* for the habits of the people, but in a conquered and semi-barbarous country it is the Government that makes the people. It is the 'system,' but not the 'system' of the Planter only, though that has had its share. It is the system of the Government of Bengal. It is the system of the Bengal Civilian; and until all three are changed, we shall never see it much better. The first has received a blow the recoil of which will ere long destroy the second, and the third is going, and good speed to them, and may we have something better in their place.

The feeling of intense bitterness engendered by the feeble vacillation, the ruinous incapacity, exhibited by Lord Canning in 1857, has passed away. The danger, the destruction he was bringing upon all has been providentially averted. The danger has passed, and people have forgotten the weakness and half the misery it wrought. The voices of those who suffered most we have never heard. They lie buried at the bottom of the 'Well' at Cawnpore. If we were writing of the great Mutiny we could tell how they might have been saved; how the blood of the 800, is on the heads of the council and the clique of Calcutta, who treated the greatest rebellion of modern ages as a 'causeless panic.' But the shortest memory amongst us still retains a sufficient recollection of that fearful time to preclude the hope,

* A Social Barometer would indicate pretty nearly as follows :

Calcutta.	Intimacy	Nil.	Jealousy	Intense.
100 from do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
300 do. do.	do.	slight.	do.	Weaker.
500 do. do.	do.	Considerable.	do.	Very little.
700 do. do.	do.	{ Friendly, ladies }	do.	Scarcely perceptible.
		{ a little shy. }		
1000 do. do.	do.	{ Very friendly, ladies }	do.	None.
		{ compare babies and }		
		{ "spend the day." }		

the smallest trace of hope, of any good to India from Lord Canning. Experience is lost upon a character so indolent, so stubborn, so destitute of either originality or energy. Mistakes arising from unavoidable ignorance in March 1857, and from evil counsel might be pardoned; but we ask, did March 1858-59-60-61, bring any change? Did the councillors who had betrayed and misled him lose their influence, were they replaced by others? The Governor General had neither the energy, the determination, nor the ability to shake them off and think for himself. He was afraid to stand alone. We all remember the celebrated confiscation proclamation in Oude. How Lord Canning first defended it as necessary and just, how he afterwards said it was only a threat never intended to be executed, how, on being taunted with issuing a mock threat, he strove to prove that it had been carried out, fully and entirely, and had been successful.* Lord Canning professes a desire to encourage European capital, and we do not doubt his perfect sincerity, but we have no hope and no trust in his ability to act up to his professions and wishes.

He has allowed a measure which above all others would give an impetus to capital and energy, (the sale of land in fee simple,) to remain under the 'consideration' of the Lieutenant Governor for nearly eighteen months, and when Mr. Grant's scheme does at last make its appearance, because it could no longer be withheld, it is clogged, in every clause, with the policy, with the 'rule hitherto observed in Bengal,' and is acceptable to no one. Mr. Grant cannot make up his mind to abandon all control over the land, even though it be only a howling waste of jungle. He must retain the power of interference and resumption. He fears that land jobbers will buy it all up, that the desire for permanent investment in India, without return, is so strong, that British capitalists will rush to secure a wilderness on speculation, and prevent the rapid progress of clearing, cultivation, and improvement, which has been 'hitherto observed in Bengal.' This is not the real reason, it is but a cloak, and a transparent one, to cover the hereditary jealousy of independence, a mask to hide the dreaded face of the Collector, and to make the European Zemindar, what the native one has ever been, a trembling abject vassal. If we could forget what he has been as a Governor, and only remember that he is an English Gentleman, we might appeal to Lord Canning, we might ask him for justice, even for encouragement; but the 'amlah' that betrayed him in 1857, through whose eyes

* We know that the proclamation was never generally known in Oude, it was burked by the authorities.

he looked when he could see no 'solid standing ground' for making a distinction between those who were murdering and those who were being murdered, through whose evil influence he was induced to spurn the offer of aid that might have saved Cawnpore, surround him still, and we refrain. England may find a substitute for Indigo or may do without it, she may look on with indifference and apathy while the destruction of an article, which however useful, is not essential to her, is going on. But there is no substitute for cotton. It cannot be done without. It is meat and drink to millions. Let the people of England only realise that the 'system' of administration, that the 'rule hitherto observed in Bengal' will obstruct in any way, will tend, in the remotest degree, to diminish the export of cotton by only a single bail, and the whole 'system' will be swept away like a cobweb. Let the Civil Service beware. It has not kept pace with the times any more than the Planters. Every step it has taken forward it has uniformly endeavoured to retrace as soon as the pressure that compelled it was removed. When it could no longer deport him, it made the independent European little better than an outlaw: it has humiliated him with a relentlessness that never slumbered, that never lost an opportunity. What social outlawry left unaccomplished it has tried to complete by Black Acts and Penal Codes. Let the Civil Service look back upon the work of the last two years. Before it could compel the planter to be liberal it ruined him. They said his system was too rotten to be capable of repair. It was old and full of abuses and it must die. Let them read the lesson, for there is another system older and more decayed, as devoid of liberality, and with as little foresight. Toleration is not sufficient; we ask for encouragement, which is not only not inconsistent with the welfare of India but the source of her ultimate regeneration. It is the encouragement afforded by protection and justice, and it is not very much to ask, but it is sufficient.

Since the preceding part of this article was put into the printer's hands, new and most important evidence on the subject has been laid before the public. The vindictiveness with which certain Officials, who have taken a leading part in the Indigo controversy, have acted, has been established in a Court of Law,* not indeed in their own persons, but in that of their tools. The tardy but unmistakeable disapproval of the Supreme Government has obviated the necessity for further appeal to the Law. The Gover-

* The Trials for Libel consequent on the publication of the '*Nil Darpan*.'

nor General has administered a dignified and stern rebuke, to all concerned in 'acts which were not only unauthorised but quite unjustifiable.' Lord Canning says, Mr. Seton Karr 'is chargeable, not only with an unwarrantable assumption and indiscreet exercise of an authority which did not belong to him, but with a neglect of duty, which it is difficult to reconcile with the motives that led him to such an assumption.' This is a reproof which it has seldom or never been the lot of a high Government servant to receive, and, at the same time, be allowed to retain his appointment. But hard as it has hit, and truly as the shot has been aimed, the effect of the *ricochet* is still greater. It has glanced from Mr. Seton Karr, after inflicting a serious bruise, the effect of which cannot fail to be permanent, and has lodged deep at Alipore. 'The Governor General could have wished, that these errors had been noticed by His Honor with the gravity which they deserve, as very serious infractions of the Secretary's duty.' Through this veil of official language it is easy to see the severe displeasure of Lord Canning, because where condemnation from the head of that Government (of Bengal) was due, it should have followed at once in such a manner, as to mark unmistakably His Honor's displeasure, and to render it impossible to implicate his Government in acts which were not only unauthorised but quite unjustifiable.' This is a grave and serious charge against the head of a Government. It is that Mr. Grant has neglected to punish or has even condoned the act of a subordinate so unjustifiable that the Governor General has thought it his duty to forbid his being again employed in such a responsible position. The dignified sense of justice displayed by Lord Canning in this matter, is quite consistent with the estimate of his character which we have formed from his career in India. He has not yet done any thing to indicate any change of policy, and we are not sanguine enough to hope for any of a sufficiently decided character, to meet the wants of India, or to restore order and give good government to Bengal. As we said before, however, we have most perfect faith in the gentleman, and this last Minute has shown that it was not misplaced; but we have none in the statesman—in the Governor General. We shall now leave this most disgraceful episode in the Indigo question, and turn to other and even more important official documents bearing upon the same subject.

The Report of Mr. Montresor, one of the two Special Commissioners to the disturbed Indigo districts of Nuddea, has lately been given to the public here: but it is confidently asserted that its dispatch to England took place three weeks earlier. As it

was decidedly unfavourable to the Planters, we regret to say, that the conduct of the Government of Bengal has hitherto been such, as to induce a ready belief, that it would not hesitate to forward accusations in advance of any possible refutation that might be offered by those accused. A charge of such manifest unfairness and dishonesty should not be advanced without some proof, and we refer our reader to the note at the foot of this page,* for an instance where the same course was followed, with this difference, that the existence of Mr. Montresor's Report was so well known, that it could not be altogether withheld, as in the case noted below.

We will now refer very briefly to the Report itself. It is to be regretted that the replies of Messrs. Larmour and Hills should have been so long delayed, but we have no hesitation in saying, after a careful and impartial perusal of them and the Report, that the refutation of the serious charges, we might say of all the charges, is full and complete. Mr. Montresor is convicted of writing an entirely one-sided report, of publishing the statements of the Ryots, with his own inferences and deductions, and of suppressing the explanations, complaints and grievances of the Planters. If we were disposed to admit the not very probable supposition, that Mr. Montresor himself believed every representation made by the Ryots, he was bound in common fairness, for the sake of truth and justice, to give the same publicity to the other side. If the weight of testimony, in his opinion, was on the side of the Ryots, he was at liberty to say so. But that there was something to be said on the Planters' side, and that it has been said in a manner most creditable to Mr. Hills, no one will deny. Although his investigations have been carried on in another district, the Report of Mr. Morris, to which we shall presently refer, corroborates in a remarkable manner the statements of Messrs. Larmour and Hills. Although it may vary in intensity in different localities, we are not aware that any difference in the manner of the opposition to Indigo has been discovered in Nuddea and Jessore; when, therefore, Mr. Hills asserts that such a state of affairs exists, as he and others have represented, when Mr. Morris describes an exactly similar state of matters

* No. 3. *Indigo Selections* was forwarded to England without the Planters being made aware of its existence, and formed the basis of official accusations against them. On intelligence of this reaching India the Association made an application to the Government of Bengal for a copy, and met with a refusal. Subsequently, copies were granted, but not until they had done their work. The book contained matter on which an action for libel has, we believe, been instituted in the Supreme Court.

in adjoining districts, agitated from the same cause, we cannot hesitate, but must accept Mr. Hills' calm and temperate statements as true, and Mr. Montresor's as giving a false and one-sided impression. It has been stated that Mr. Montresor avowed ignorance of Zemindaree accounts, and placed himself in the hands of one openly opposed to the Planters, but this is no sufficient excuse. The report has gone forth with his name attached, and any obloquy that it may incur, any condemnation it may receive, will fall upon him and upon him alone. If he has misused the high trust that was reposed in him, to further the ends of those in power, whose antipathies and wishes are but too well known, the shame and degradation such conduct deserves will come in its own good time.

The Minute of the Lieutenant Governor to which we have had so often to refer, asserts that the Indigo districts are not in a state of 'confusion,' that the 'Law is in full force,' 'the life, property and personal liberty, even of the humblest cultivator, were never before more secure than they are now in those districts.' His own Special Commissioner Mr. Morris says 'The present condition of affairs in the interior is truly deplorable. The prospect presents one of two alternatives; either litigation to an unlimited extent, or the weaker side (the European) must retire from the field.' 'The disorganised state of the country was apparent from the fact that, on my arrival at Salgamoondiah, the Darogah of Hurrinarayanpore presented me with a list of no less than 100 defendants, concerned in outrages connected with the Factory, who were at large, and whom he had orders to apprehend. In some villages he actually declared himself afraid to go lest he should be speared, and this in spite of there being 30 Military Police stationed within 100 yards of his Tannah, and a like number two miles off.' 'Mr. Stuart the Deputy Magistrate told me, that he had himself seen several hundreds of people, armed with spears and bamboos, assemble at a moment's notice, on the beat of a drum or some such signal. He suddenly went to the spot on an application to protect the servants of Mr. Kenny. He was not at first recognized as the Magistrate, and so the demonstration was made, but immediate flight followed his attempts to seize the participators in it.' Again, 'I am impressed with the conviction, that the Ryots have, as a rule, wilfully, and without sufficient cause withheld payment of their rents, and that this recusancy on their part, has derived its force mainly from the ill feeling that has sprung up in their minds towards the European Planters, on the subject of Indigo cultivation' If our space permitted, we could quote a great deal more to the

same effect, namely, that there has been and still is, unlawful combination, that life and property are not 'inviolable,' that there has been no 'practical introduction of the supremacy of 'of the Law' that the 'confusion is truly deplorable,' that it is increasing, that the 'breach is widening,' and that 'the crisis demands that prompt, stern and impartial justice should be administered.'

Can any one for a moment doubt but that this report gives a fair and true representation of the state of affairs in the Indigo districts? It is, from beginning to end, a contradiction of all that Mr. Grant has written on the subject, and we cannot but respect the moral courage of the man who has dared to tell him, that the condition of the country he is appointed to govern is 'truly deplorable,' that 'the crisis demands that stern and prompt justice should be administered.' Mr. Morris deserves the commendation of every honest man, not because he has benefitted the cause of the Planter, but because, with a thousand motives and inducements to gloss over matters, he has dared to tell the honest truth, although that truth could not fail to be unacceptable to the man upon whose favor all his present hope of preferment depends. Mr. Morris has told him that the 'confusion' he has denied does exist; that the unlawful combination has been universal; that the Supremacy of the Law, of which he has boasted, has no existence; that the Police fear to enter villages 'lest they should be speared;' in short, that the condition of the country he has represented as peaceful and prosperous, is 'truly deplorable.' And now a serious question arises. Did Mr. Grant know the real condition of the Indigo district, and knowingly and wilfully misrepresent it? Did he cry, Peace, when there was no Peace, lest his own theories might be upset and his misgovernment proclaimed? Or was he ignorant of all that he should have known? Will he plead guilty to the first? Will he admit that he had pledged himself to a denial of justice, that he was actuated by a spirit of bitter animosity, a desire for revenge upon those who had attacked him? Or will he admit the second? It is a dilemma in which a choice is difficult, and we leave it to Mr. Grant to make his own.

Our space forbids our entering more fully into the various matters discussed in Mr. Morris's able report, and it is not necessary, for all those interested cannot fail to have perused it for themselves. It contains, however, one characteristic instance of native ingratitude to which we would call attention. We refer to the case of *Azeem Kahar*, 'an aged and blind Ryot.' This man had benefits, such as are rare indeed, heaped upon him, had been tended in sickness and trouble, had land given him at half

its ascertained value, and was finally pensioned, and yet we find him vociferating loudly for justice against an oppressor! Does not this case show the folly and danger of assuming, that because a native complains of oppression there is necessarily any foundation whatever for the charge. Perhaps this 'aged and blind Ryot' formed a link in that dismal chain of misery and suffering which extended for seventy miles. We doubt not that many with equal cause took part in that fabulous demonstration. The great problem, 'the development of the resources of India' will be finally and satisfactorily solved, when some future traveller shall find such 'oppressors' as Messrs Kenny and Hills, in every province of Hindostan.

ART. V.—*The Daughters of India: their Social condition, Religion, Literature, Obligations and Prospects.* BY THE REV. E. J. ROBINSON. London: NISBET & Co., 1860.

2. *A Prize Essay on Native Female Education.* BY PROFESSOR BANERJEA, Calcutta: LEPAGE & Co., 1848.

3. *Domestic Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India.* BY BABOO ISHUR DASS, Benares: 1860.

4. *The Eastern Lily Gathered; with observations on the position and prospects of Hindu Female Society.* BY THE REV. E. STORROW. Calcutta: 1856.

THE women of India out-number the entire population of Great Britain, France and Italy; any custom or law therefore affecting their welfare, carries with it a large amount of good or evil to no inconsiderable portion of the human race. The chivalrous sentiments of Englishmen, and the benign and elevating aspects of our sublime faith toward the sex, alike require that we should understand the evils associated with female life in this country, and discover the means by which those evils may be eradicated.

It is by no means an easy matter to give a faithful portraiture of the relative condition of women in India. An intelligent, but not impartial Hindu writer has justly remarked; 'perhaps no question relating to Indian manners has received more attention from, and is yet less generally known by Europeans, than the character and condition of the female sex in this country.*' It is much to our honour that our sympathies have been so powerfully drawn toward this subject; and if we have failed correctly to comprehend it, the causes of our ignorance and misunderstanding are not far to seek. It is said to be a trait of our Anglo-Saxon race, that we are intolerant of the customs of other nations, and therefore somewhat unable to estimate them at their proper value. There may be some truth in this, though it is a remark admitting of a much wider application, and truer of most other races than of ours; but we are inclined to think

* "Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects," by Shoshee Chunder Dutt. Published by D'Rozario and Co. Calcutta. This volume is deserving of more attention than it has received, as illustrating the manner in which various social questions are viewed by educated natives.

that in the case before us, our vice leans to the side of virtue; for, seeing so much in the position of Hindu women that grates upon our feelings as Englishmen and Christians, we are apt to express our dislike in too sweeping language and to overlook what may be said in explanation of some of its phases. But if we are prejudiced, Hindus, we regret to say, do little to enlighten us. Old India resents as an insult, or suspects as an insinuation, any enquiry into his domestic affairs. Etiquette requires him not to notice his wife before others, and her not even to accost him. To speak to her affectionately in presence of another, is to make himself ridiculous. He rebukes all approach to familiarity by never uttering her name to a third person, nor speaking of her more closely than as the mother of his son or daughter. A near relation may venture, in general terms, to ask after the health of the female members of the household, and a very 'old friend of the family' might venture to enquire, if one of them were in 'the article of death,' 'are *all* of the house well?' But to resolve this vague, nebulous form of speech into anything more specific and definite would certainly endanger his reputation for courtesy, if, not induce grave doubts respecting his designs. Is the 'Mletcha' then, likely to receive 'the fullest information,' who, prompted by 'an enquiring turn of mind,' seeks from Old India a knowledge of the manners and customs which regulate female society? Nor, unfortunately, does Young India prove a helper where his father fails us. Like a guerilla soldier, mortified that he cannot remain in the open country, and holding every rock and mountain peak as he slowly retires, that he may at least have a safe shot at his advancing, victorious adversary, he is very fond of repaying himself for the admissions he is compelled by his candour or enlightenment to make respecting the unwise and offensive customs of his country, by defending other customs which are hardly defensible, with reasons which conceal or ignore one half the truth, and by turning sharp round upon us with some broad assertion which really means, 'after all our customs are almost as good as yours; and if some of ours are bad, you are not without a considerable number which greatly stand in need of reformation.' Thus, for instance, in meeting the statement of the Abbé Dubois, who affirms that 'he had never seen two Hindu marriages that really united the hearts of the parties closely,' the writer we have already cited, says, 'No, not at the time, Abbé, for then they are children; but we will undertake to cite three instances of happy matches amongst the Hindus, for every two any person, in support of the Abbé's assertion, will point out to us amongst

'the European community. We are prepared to admit that 'Hindu husbands do frequently prove heartless tyrants, but certainly not more so than husbands in England, France and Italy. 'Husbands closely united to their wives are scarce, we fear, all 'over the world; even for all the "love passages" that precede 'marriage in many countries.' In another place he says, 'We 'do not delight to talk scandal, but it is by no means a secret, 'that in Europe, principally on the Continent, it is not uncommon for a young married woman to receive the most ardent 'love-letters from her admirers.' We shall not stop to refute these false and exaggerated statements; they prove how small an amount of reliance we can place on those whose knowledge is thus warped by prejudice, and an inclination to depreciate.

We are not, however, without the means of forming a just estimate of the position of women in this country. Hindu writers are by no means reticent on this subject. Lawgivers, philosophers, poets and historians alike contribute freely to enable us to understand what men think of women. Added to this, there are certain great facts patent to the observation, which no reasoning can justify to a healthy Christian mind, and which stand out prominently and offensively on the surface of native society, like huge tumours and excrescences only fit for the surgeon's knife. Women are almost always married before they are ten years of age: reading and writing are deemed superfluous for them, if not pernicious; and not one in every three hundred can read: the sentiments universally entertained of their capacities, uses and dispositions are contemptuous and brutal in the extreme: they live secluded from society, either because they are deemed too weak or too wicked to use their liberty wisely or well: should they ever, when children, lose their husbands, there is for them but a dreary life of unbroken widowhood, hardly ever relieved by sympathy and tenderness. Nor can we forget that for centuries, women in every part of India were allowed to burn themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres, and were taught that this was the holiest action they could perform; and that over the greater part of this vast peninsula, female life was so little valued that infanticide was not a crime, and, indeed, was often deemed a meritorious act. The first has ceased, the latter is happily passing away; but it must be remembered that no shaster, and scarce a Hindu sect, or even a solitary individual, ever recorded a protest or uttered an expostulation against these enormous wrongs. These constitute the gravamen of the charge we bring against the system of Hindu female society,—that it is viciously constituted and based on falsehood; a mighty wrong and injury being

wrought by one half the community on the other half, afflicting and degrading alike those who work and those who endure it

"In the ancient, the Vedic period, woman was more honoured and free than she is now. 'Hymns in the Rig-veda mention 'her with respect and affection, comparing the goodness of the 'god Agni to that of a 'brother for his sisters,' and the brightness 'of this god to the shining of a woman in her love.* Sarah, Rebekah and Rachel, Hagar and Leah, Bilhah and Zilpah, Dinah and Tamar resemble as closely as may be the women of ancient India. And the state of society in which the former lived, exhibiting moral laxity mingled with fierce jealousy; freedom and restraint; an assumption of authority on the part of men, and its frequent evasion by the cunning management of women; a courteous deference to them, combined with a suspiciousness alike of their rights and of their integrity and constancy, gives us perhaps the best portraiture we can now have, of the relative position of men and women in this land three thousand years ago. In the ages immediately succeeding they were held in similar esteem. They listened to Brahmanical discourses, and occasionally took part in moral and philosophical discussions. They were seen at public festivals. Yet that which pleases us most are the indications scattered here and there, of the mingled honour and affection with which they were regarded. We lay little stress on the fact that the greatest of Indian poems, turns on the capture and deliverance of a woman; but it is worthy of notice that the beautiful Sita is ever spoken of, especially by her husband, in terms which plainly tell how highly gentleness, fortitude, fidelity and woman's love were regarded by strong, brave men in those primitive ages. The troubled story of king Nala and his wandering, faithful wife Damayanti in the Mahabharat, illustrates the same truth, and shews that women had a larger liberty than now: for besides being permitted to roam about at will, Damayanti actually chose her own husband. The beautiful story of Savitri, told also in the Mahabharat, gives a picture of womanly fidelity and tenderness which is very touching; and, to refer to a later period, the 'Meg Dutha' breathes sentiments of pure affection and loving honour towards an absent wife, which are not always, we fear, wafted to absent spouses by their loving lords, in these days of enforced and necessary separation.

Coming down to the time of Menu, we find a very marked deterioration in the position of the sex; and since his code has given the key-note to all subsequent opinion and usage, we shall

* Mrs. Spier's "Life in Ancient India" p. 166.

quote some passages from him, premising however, that the code is evidently founded, to a large degree, on pre-existing usages and opinions, and that therefore there must have been causes at work, tending towards an unfavourable change in the lot of women, some generations before the advent of the great codifier, though it is not to be denied that he rivetted, with evident satisfaction, the last links of their galling chain. The causes leading to this ill-fated depreciation cannot now be ascertained; probably like many other social problems in oriental history, they are far even beyond our reach; though it would not be difficult speculatively, to define the steps by which the sex descended from their tower of pride, to their seat in the dust.

'By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling place, according to her mere pleasure.*

'In childhood must a female be dependent on her father; in youth on her husband; her lord being dead on her sons:—a woman must never seek independence.†

'Though unobservant of approved usages, or enamoured of another woman, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife.‡

'No sacrifice is allowed to women apart from their husbands, no religious rite, no fasting: as far only as a wife honours her lord, so far she is exalted in heaven.§

'Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots and fruit: but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man.||

'A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a younger whole brother, may be corrected when they commit faults, with a rope or a small shoot of a cane.¶

'For women, children, persons of crazy intellect, the old, the poor, and the infirm, the king shall order punishment with a small whip, a twig or a rope.**

'It is the nature of women in this world to cause the seduction of men; for which reason the wise are never unguarded in the company of females.'

'A female indeed is able to draw from the right path in this life not a fool only, but even a sage, and can lead him in subjection to desire or to wrath.'

* Menu's "Institutes of Hindu Law," chap. V, p. 117.

† Ibid, 148.

‡ Ibid, 154.

§ Ibid, 155.

|| Ibid, 157.

¶ Ibid, chap. VIII, 299.

** Ibid, ch. p. IX. 230.

'Let no man, therefore, sit 'in a sequestered place with his nearest female relations.*'

'A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year; she, whose children are all dead, in the tenth: she, who brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh: she, who speaks unkindly, without delay.†'

'Women have no business with the text of the Veda; thus is the law fully settled: having therefore no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be foul as falsehood itself; and this is a fixed rule.‡'

Women are ranked with the inferior castes. Obedience to her husband is the grand duty of a wife, which, if faithfully performed, stands as a substitute for all other duties, be they civil or sacred. If a wife neglects her husband because he drinks or gambles, she must be punished; but if 'she drinks, or shews hatred to her lord or is mischievous, or wastes his property, she may at all times be superseded by another wife.§ It is a husband who exalts a wife to happiness in the next world. 'A widow who slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord.'

These passages are not only valuable as exhibiting an ancient form of opinion, they may be taken as a tolerably correct mirror of the current state of feeling in our own day, and thus we arrive at the melancholy conclusion, that for 2500 years, one half the population of this densely inhabited and enormous peninsula, have been thus thought of and thus treated by the other half. That opinion on this subject has not materially altered will be made clear in future pages, although it is obvious from the fact, that the code of the ancient lawgiver is still recognised as sacred and authoritative throughout purely native society. But let us now give a proof of the unhappy harmony subsisting between ancient opinion and modern, by citations from the Gentoo code, which, though chiefly compiled from Menu, was itself issued eighty years ago, as an authoritative exposition of Hindoo law; and by citing a few proverbs and popular sayings, which in all countries embody so largely the popular state of thought and feeling.—

'A man, both day and night, must keep his wife so much in subjection, that she by no means be mistress of her own actions: if the wife have her own free will, notwithstanding she be sprung from a superior caste, she will yet behave amiss.¶'

* Ibid, II. 213, 214, 215.

† Ibid, IX. 81.

‡ Ibid, IX. 18.

§ Ibid, IX. 78, 80.

¶ A Code of Gentoo Law, Chap. xx, p. 249.

'A woman shall never go out of the house without the consent of her husband, * * * and shall never hold discourse with a strange man; but may converse with a suniassi, a hermit, or an old man, * * * and shall not stand at the door and must never look out of a window.'*

'Women have six qualities; the first an inordinate desire for jewels and fine furniture, handsome clothes and nice victuals; * * * ; the third, violent anger; the fourth deep resentment; (i. e) no person knows the sentiments concealed in their heart; the fifth, another person's good appears evil in their eyes; the sixth, they commit bad actions.'†

'In creatures with nails, in rivers, in horned animals, in those with weapons in their hands, confidence must not be placed; nor in women, nor in kings' favourites.'‡ 'One may trust deadly poison, a river, a hurricane, the beautiful, large, fierce elephant, the tiger come from prey, the angels of death, a thief, a savage, a murderer; but if one trust a woman, without doubt he must wander about the streets a beggar.'§

The most offensive and depreciatory of these sentiments we have suppressed. Many proverbs appear to be the masculine, popular embodiment of these calumnious and unjust laws. For instance.—

'Blind sons support their parents, but a prince's daughter extorts money from them.' That is, a son, however helpless, will care for his parents, but a daughter, however rich, will try to get all she can from hers.

'Unless a daughter dies she cannot be praised for her virtue.'—Women are so fickle and frail that you are never sure what their lives will turn out to be.

'Those who attend to the words of a woman are possessed by devils.'—Plain enough!

'Females produce young ones.'—They are given to exaggeration, and produce wonderful stories out of very meagre facts.

'We cannot understand the character of women; even the gods cannot.'

'Women are unsteady as the birds that float in the air.'

The sentiments prevalent throughout Southern India are equally insulting, offensive and degrading. A Tamil proverb says, 'even were a woman well read and behaved, taking her counsel would lead to the eating of refuse.'

* Ibid, p. 252.

† Ibid, 250.

‡ Nithi—Sinthamani.

§ Ibid.

A popular stanza in Tamil literature hits off the mutual weaknesses of both sexes; it was written by Ouvvray the renowned female sage.

All women were good if left alone,
 They are spoiled by those who rule them;
 And by men might a little sense be shewn,
 But the women so befool them.

The same traitorous and clever woman has said, 'Ignorance is an ornament to women.'

It is but candid to admit, that though this be the prevalent language alike of lawgivers, shastras and moralists, other sentiments of a much more kindly nature are now and then to be met with. Thus one Puranic authority says—'Women are the friends of the solitary; they solace him with their sweet converse; like to a father in the discharge of duty, consoling as a mother in affliction.' Even the Institutes of the ancient lawgiver contain the following admirable sentiments.—'Married women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husbands, and by the brethren of their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity; where females are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but if they are dishonoured there all religious acts become fruitless. Where female relatives are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so, very soon wholly perishes. On whatever houses the women of a family, not being duly honoured pronounce an imprecation that house with all that belongs to it, will utterly perish.*' We may remark, by the way, that we are quite sure this unusually gallant and benevolent utterance, came neither from the brain nor the heart of the great codifier himself. It is evidently one of those thoughts he picked up, as Elphinstone says, in writings ancient even in his day, for he was a compiler rather than an original lawmaker and thinker, and in a moment of weakness inserted in his compilation. Had 'new and improved editions' been as common in Menu's days as in our own, we feel quite sure this would have been struck out, as a very weak and foolish passage, by the dry, hard, women-contemning sage.

Let us now endeavour to portray the present state of female society. It will be seen, that with slight modifications, it is a transcript of that which the old Lawgiver wished to see.

That the birth of a son is greatly preferred to that of a daughter no Hindu will deny; though apologists are not wanting who affirm, that this arises from adventitious causes, and that if Hindus

* The Codes of Menu c. III. 55, 56, 57, 58.

have this bias so have Europeans. Admitting that this is the case, it may with truth be affirmed that on the part of western parents it is slight, whilst on that of Hindus it is strong and even intense. If they pray for offspring it is for sons not daughters. There is a definite value attached to the former; they are at once an honour, a necessity and an advantage; the latter, on the other hand, are regarded as a reproach, an encumbrance and a source of trouble. The wife who only bears daughters is despised, and may be displaced by another. The congratulations which are freely offered on the birth of a son are withheld on the birth of a daughter, if indeed expressions of condolence are not offered to the unfortunate father. The Tamil parent strikes the roof of his hut three times, in token of gladness when a son is born. The Bengali Kulin sees in a daughter a bitter well-spring of anxiety, expense, and possible humiliation, for she must probably marry a man who has many wives, most of whom he but seldom sees; she must live a burden on her father's house, and be exposed to more than ordinary trials and temptations through the absence of him who ought at once to be her 'bread winner' and her protector. Still greater are the regrets among Rajputs when a daughter is born. For her to live unmarried would be both disgraceful and impious; to marry one of the same clan, whom we should call an equal, is degrading if not incestuous; to find a suitable husband is difficult indeed, and requires a sum of money usually beyond the parent's means; in this dilemma, instead of breaking through a hateful custom, they have been wont to destroy the greater part of their female offspring. Parents who can deliberately perpetrate such an atrocity, are glad when the birth of a son saves them from its commission; but there is guilty and mournful significance in the reply of the Rajput, who, when asked if a girl or boy has been born in his family, replies, 'nothing.'

But exceptional customs apart, the Hindus universally prefer male offspring, for some reasons which we can appreciate, and for others which arise only from an ill constituted form of society. Morally and intellectually woman is deemed inferior to man. This idea underlies the whole framework of society. But a son is a necessity to a Hindu family. He alone, and not a daughter, can perform the Shraddha, which quenches the hunger of departed ancestors, and guards them against unnumbered ills. Dismal indeed is that house which has not a son thus to enrich it. A daughter on the other hand is not only not a necessity, she is an encumbrance and a source of anxiety. She is ever dependent and seldom trusted. If we

may employ such a phrase, she is of no use to her family. Marry she must whilst yet a child, and it is no easy task sometimes to find a suitable partner for her; when found, to unite them is a terribly expensive business, and when that is done she becomes an essential part of her husband's family. 'The duty of daughters is, from the day of their marriage, transferred entirely to their husbands and their husbands' parents, on whom alone devolves the duty of protecting and supporting them through the wedded and the widowed state. The links that united them to their parents are broken, All the reciprocity of rights and duties which have bound together the parent and child from infancy, is considered to end with the consummation of her marriage; nor does the stain of any subsequent *backsliding* ever affect the family of her parents—it can affect that only of her husband, which is held alone responsible for her conduct.* Even should her husband die she seldom returns to her father's house, save as an occasional visitor. May we not conclude then from all this, that the rejoicing or sadness attendant on the birth of children is largely owing, in the best families at least, in some measure to a conviction of the superiority of men to women, but still more to a painful consciousness, that the iron customs of the country have created a great, an unjust, and an unhappy disparity in the fortunes of the sexes!

But the preference given to male children, is seen not only in the actual joy that breaks forth because a mother does *not* give birth to a daughter, but in two, at least, of the customs which follow on parturition. The one relates to the mother, the other to the child. Hindu ceremonial law declares that a deeper stain of impurity attaches to the birth of a girl than of a boy:— 'A mother having brought forth a boy, may be allowed to do her accustomed work, having bathed after twenty nights; but after a month, when she is delivered of a girl,' says one of the shastras. A superstition not without its grave and suggestive associations, is connected with the sixth night of a child's existence. It is supposed that Vidhata, the Supreme, in the form of destiny, then comes and writes in unseen, but ineradicable characters the fate which has been preordained for the child. And then it is that the goddess Shashthi, the supposed guardian of infants, is worshipped. Offerings are made to her; adorations are presented to make her propitious to the child, and the following prayer is addressed to her—'Come, O

* "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official" By Colonel Sleeman. Vol I. p. 330.

'thou blessing-dispensing goddess; celebrated by the name of the great Shashthi, and by thy divine energy protect my son in the watch room. As Scanda the son of Gouri, was ever guarded by thee, so may this my son likewise be preserved. 'Reverence to thee, O Shashthi!' Now all this worship and invocation, as well as the festivities accompanying it, are usually omitted with female offspring.

The childhood of a Hindu girl differs little from the ordinary phases of juvenility elsewhere, save in two particulars;—it is made far too short by early marriage, and even its infantile associations are injured and disfigured by a premature acquaintance with the contingencies of connubial life. She has her dolls, her games, and her pretty ways but unfortunately she is not left entirely, nor long enough to these. Though mental training is denied her, she is early taught that she must be married, and all the unhappy possibilities of that state are intruded on her innocent and simple nature. From her earliest years she hears about her marriage;—the display with which it will be celebrated;—the kind of husband it is likely she will obtain;—the presents he may give her;—the pleasures and pains of married life;—the likelihood of her becoming a widow, and the possibilities of her being superseded in her husband's affections by another. Even her religious emotions are guided very much in this direction. Besides the ceremonies and rites sanctioned by the shastras, there have sprung up a number of others which can lay claim to no authority, but which are largely sanctioned by custom; and the vows and prayers of young girls form no small part of these. Two or three of these may be mentioned. The *Shajoti*, is a ceremony performed by female children of all classes, under the careful superintendence of the female head of the family, for the purpose of obtaining a good husband, who shall never take a second wife, and give to her who prays plenty of ornaments. The *Yampookur* consists chiefly of worship given to the Hindu Pluto, to render him propitious, so that she who worships him may never be deprived of her husband, and subjected to all the sorrow and shame of widowhood.

The play of childhood is soon interrupted by the mingled gravities and follies of marriage. Like everything else relating to the framework of native society, the proper age for its celebration is fixed by the shastras, and confirmed by immemorial custom. 'The marriage of a girl (whatever her caste) is to be celebrated after she is seven years old, otherwise it becomes contrary to the dictates of religion. At the age of eight, she

'becomes a *Gouri*, at the age of nine she becomes a *Rohini*,* and 'at the age of ten a mere virgin. Her youth commences if she is older. Therefore the wise are to dispose of her before the close of her tenth year, even if the time were otherwise inauspicious or improper.† Menu says.—'To an excellent and handsome youth of the same class, let every man give his daughter in marriage according to law; even though she have not attained her age of eight years.‡ So important does the old lawgiver consider this matter, that he counsels nothing short of female rebellion and independence as the ultimatum, if the father of a girl neglect to provide her with a partner.—'Three years (beyond the eighth) let a damsel wait, though she be marriageable; but after that term, let her choose for herself a bridegroom of equal rank. If not being given in marriage she choose her bridegroom, neither she, nor the youth chosen commits any offence.'

That every girl must be married, is a law in the Hindu code of fashion, which has its ludicrous aspects; but the gravity of the evils it produces forbids that we should make ourselves merry over them. It leaves neither liberty to the parent nor child. It forbids all preference and choice. It forces an union often, where its only consequences must be disgust, disappointment or sorrow. It destroys the sanctity and dignity of marriage, by directing the minds of children to a union which should never be regarded as universally incumbent, and by turning the parent into a mere negotiator whose great and sole aim is to get his child married off his hands, even whilst she is a child.§ But the early age of marriage

* *Gouri* and *Rohini* are the names of two of the twenty seven stars in the Hindoo Calendar. The former represents the wife of Shiva, the latter of Chondro. *Gouri* is therefore superior to *Rohini*, and he who gives his daughter in marriage at the earlier period, confers a gift superior to him who keeps his daughter unmarried until the age of nine. The Hindoo idea really is, when translated into ordinary phraseology, that a girl must be married before the age of puberty, and the sooner after the age of seven the better, and the more meritorious. If she be not married before this period great disgrace ensues; and abhorrent sin is supposed to follow.

† Rev. K. M. Banerjee's Prize Essay on native Female Education, p. 24.

‡ The Code. Chap. IX. 88.

§ Hence has arisen the recognized profession of the *Ghataks*, formerly monopolised by men, but now we understand largely engaged in by women, who on account of their superior information respecting the charms and qualifications of girls, which they can ascertain by having access to zenanas, are likely to monopolise the business in turn, and drive their masculine rivals out of the field. The *Ghatak* is employed in looking out for a suitable partner for any girl who is approaching the prescribed age for marriage. The preliminary arrangements which bring the parents into negotiation are usually transacted through this singular official.

is an evil tenfold greater than is even the enforcement of marriage. A girl must either be united to a mere boy, or be bound to a man much older than herself. In both cases the contracting parties are mutually ignorant of each other, and probably have never spent a moment in each other's society. It is obvious that such a procedure enormously increases the probabilities, that marriage will not conduct to satisfactory issues. It is true, that parents will usually be animated by a strong desire to form such alliances for their children, as bid fair to lead to happy results; that their prudence and foresight are more likely to secure *equal social* alliances, than are the passionate impulses and extravagant imaginings of inexperienced youth; that if love does not exist before marriage, it may follow after it, where parents have been judicious in the selection. Yet to all this the reply is conclusive and final—marriage is a contract so intimately affecting the entire natures and the life-long happiness of the two who are united by it, that it ought to be left entirely at the choice of the two whom it binds together. The present system of course, is attended with less evil, than if women were advanced toward the English idea of their rights and privileges; but even now, with their meek and uncomplaining submissiveness, the amount of evil it must necessarily induce is beyond all computation. The alliances, where there is found to exist that subtle and instinctive repugnance of natures, which all keen observers of mankind have marked, but failed to analyze; where there is that which disgusts and offends; where the temper, the tastes and the feelings are antagonistic, and where the transporting and glorious passion of love can never be developed, must be very numerous, and so far as they exist, they must diminish that amount of happiness, whatever it is, of which Hindu married life is susceptible.

But the impediment put in the way of all mental improvement is not the least of the evils arising out of this pernicious custom. For a girl of five or six years of age to be taught that she is to be married before she is ten; for her to be taught hardly any thing but what relates to her nuptials; for her to be introduced to the cares and responsibilities of maternity before she is fifteen; is of itself sufficient to check all mental-culture and to impair beyond hope of restoration the moral purity and innocence of woman. This would inevitably be the result, even if, as among us, it were admitted, that the mind should be cultivated, but how much greater must be the injury, where both the wisdom and the right of such cultivation is denied.

The physical effects of such premature unions, both upon mothers and their children, can easily be imagined, and need not here be fully stated. Hindu women are certainly as richly endowed with feminine grace, dignity and beauty, as women anywhere. *The liteness of their frames, the natural elegance of their movements when free and unconstrained, the beautiful symmetry of their small hands and feet, the clearness of their complexions, and the great regularity, if not exceedingly delicate chiselling of their features, are feminine treasures of which they will be justly proud when they can compare themselves with the women of other climes. But all these charms are prematurely injured by early marriage. Before the girl has become a full grown woman she is a mother, and by the time most English women marry, she has given birth to two thirds of her children.* No wonder then that at thirty, when she should be in the summer of her beauty and strength, she gives indications of premature decay, and at forty, has lost all traces of loveliness and of comeliness. Indeed Hindu women enjoy no summer tide of glorious beauty, such as is accorded to their western sisters, who dwell, we will not say in a happier clime, for the climate is not the cause, but in the midst of more genial influences. They, from the age of twenty-five until forty, or forty-five, retain, almost unimpaired and undimmed, the graces with which they are so richly endowed. Here, however, ere feminine maturity is reached, they become associated with influences fatal to their beauty and prime, and they droop and die away, as if youth and old age were alone the destined heritage of women.

It requires no stretch of imagination to picture the kind of mothers such a system produces. Affection is not wanting. Thanks to a beneficent Creator! who has so constituted humanity that some of its best emotions are indestructible; for though for a time they may be perverted, they return invariably to their proper channels, like the sun's kindly influence after an eclipse, and the germinant powers of nature after a season of drought, and blight. But there is much more that is wanting and which, alas, is seldom or never found. There is wanting the trained mind to influence the child's mind. There is wanting the disciplined feelings to prevent the mother making of her little one nothing but a toy. There is wanting all, or much of that matronly dignity and power, which at once

* "The mean age of mothers at a first birth, calculated from ninety-five instances given, is little more than two years higher than the age of puberty, being fourteen years and eight months." This is in Bengal. In other parts of India the average age is a little greater.

rules, attracts and blesses a family. A Hindu mother of fifteen is no fit guardian of her infant's welfare, nor does she become better qualified to guide its steps as it advances toward maturity, for all means of mental improvement and growth are denied her.

The physical injury inflicted on a people by early marriage must necessarily be great. The immaturity of parents must lead to the weakness of their offspring. This is a law very far reaching in its issues, and worthy of much more attention than it has received. It is illustrated most in Bengal, where it is most violated. The people are the children of children; they are therefore the least muscular of races. They are incapable of much exertion, or fatigue. Their want of stamina predisposes them to disease, and renders them incapable of sustaining its attacks. They have a large number of children, but few of them arrive at maturity, and the average duration of native life is less than twenty years, or only two thirds of what it is in England. To the same cause we are inclined to attribute that intellectual subtlety, combined with a great want of mental robustness, which is one of their most marked psychological characteristics. Much of this, we are aware, is attributed by some to the tropical exuberance of the climate, which, they say, forces both life and death into rapid motion. We deny this. The characteristics we have just pointed out, owe their existence mainly to the fact, that every Bengali woman is married before she is eleven years of age, either to a youth little older than herself, or to a widower who is most likely a great deal older, and to the customs arising out of this violation of natural law.

Before describing married life we wish, because of its redeeming features and beautiful appropriateness, to refer to the closing vows mutually plighted at nuptials. We need hardly say, that the ceremonies on such occasions are very numerous, very trivial and unmeaning, and sometimes not very decent. The following rites, however, breath sentiments which we vain hope are carried not seldom into actual life. After various trivial ceremonies the bride's Pandit addresses the bridegroom in language such as follows, 'The bride says to you.—If you live happy, keep me 'happy also; if you be in trouble, I will be in trouble too; you 'must support me, and must not leave me when I suffer; you must 'always keep with me and pardon all my faults; and your poojās 'pilgrimages, fastings, incense, and all other religious duties, you 'must not perform without me; you must not defraud me regarding conjugal love; you must have nothing to do with another 'woman while I live; you must consult me in all that you do, and

'you must always tell me the truth. Vishnu, fire, and the Brahmins are witnesses between you and me.' To this the bridegroom replies. 'I will all my life time do just as the bride requires of me: but she also must make me some promises. She must go with me through suffering and trouble, and must always be obedient to me; she must never go to her father's house, unless she is asked by him; and when she sees another man in better circumstances or more beautiful than I am, she must not despise or slight me.' To this the girl answers "I will all my life do just as you require of me? Vishnu, fire, Brahmins, and all present are witnesses between us.' After this the bridegroom takes some water in his hand, the Pandit repeats something, and the former sprinkles it on the bride's head. Then the bride and the bridegroom both bow before the Sun in worship. After this the bridegroom carries his hand over the right shoulder of the bride and touches her heart, and then puts some *bundun* (a coloured powder) on her *maug* or the line on her head, and puts his shoes on her feet, but immediately takes them off again.*

A Hindu woman's cares and humiliations begin with marriage, and therefore they begin early. The first indication of her altered condition is in the limitation of her personal liberty. It seems to be regarded not only as the prudent course, but the most fashionable one, to inhibit all promiscuous intercourse between women and men, and to reduce it even in families to the smallest possible limits. Of course, the poor cannot shut up their women; but it is astonishing to observe how soon he who gets rich or respectable, however low his caste, begins to hide his female relations from public view. A high fence around his compound, and an inner apartment exclusively for the use of women, immediately proclaim his rising fortunes. As the southern breeze and free ventilation are essential in a European residence, so seclusion is the great thing to be secured in a native one. Away from the street or the road, all respectable women must live in dingy, prison-like apartments with the smallest possible number of doors and windows, which through their narrow bars admit no sight-seeing but such as is afforded by the firmament, or the dreary monotony of a stagnant tank, or an ill cultivated garden. A stray female may occasionally penetrate into the zenana; men never, excepting—to use an Irishism—they be the small boys of the family. It is even thought improper for a husband to have any social intercourse with his wife during

* Domestic manners and customs of the Hindoos," by Baboo Isuree Datta.

the day. Thus deprived of personal liberty ; hardly ever having conversation with strangers of her own sex, and never with men ; circumscribed not only in her ability to move from place to place but even in her power of vision ; hardly ever quitting her own dwelling, and when she does, travelling in a covered conveyance through the chinks of which alone she can peer ; she leads a life which is dull, monotonous and uninteresting in the extreme. This jealous seclusion of the sex is often traced up to the influence and example of the Mahomedans. Previous to their advent, it is said, women were comparatively free, but such was the license of their conduct and the evils it induced, that the people in their jealousy and terror found no safety but in adopting the exclusive custom of their conquerors. There may be some truth in this, but not much. Women were kept in seclusion for centuries even before the rise of Moslemism, and if occasionally they had liberty, such cases were quite exceptional.* Indeed the practice seems necessarily to follow from the low and jealous ideas entertained of the sex in the earliest ages, and propounded in a variety of forms in the Code of the great Lawgiver.

To dwell in such circumscribed limits, would, under the most favourable circumstances prove irksome, and prejudicial alike to the frame, the mind and the heart. If the inmates of the zenana were highly educated, if they were endowed with all those accomplishments which so pleasantly occupy and gracefully adorn their Western sisters, life would even then be without elasticity, and the feelings would droop as if they had no vigour and no spring, if they were thus secluded from the outer world. How much more must this be the case where the mind is left, totally uneducated, destitute of even the power to read, and where society is unsoftened by the benignant, pure and ennobling influences of Christianity.

That women in India are not taught to read, that the art should be forbidden them both by religion and by custom, that they should be deemed unworthy of such an acquisition by a people who boast of their learning and civilization, is at once the condemnation of Hinduism, and the opprobrium of its adherents. Says the code 'women have no business with the text of the Vedas ; thus is the law fully settled : having therefore no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be 'foul as falsehood itself ; and this is a fixed rule.'† Another

* Luksman thus expresses his astonishment on finding a woman, walking in a desert wild. 'What ! art thou wandering fearless, whose form is that of one who should not see even the sun ?' Bhatti.

† Menu's code, Chap. XI 18.

authority says—"the Vedas are not even to be heard either by the servile class, women, or degraded Brahmins."* These injunctions reach much farther than at first sight appears. In commenting on the latter passage, the Rev. K. M. Banerjee says, "And as pronunciation, grammar, versification, arithmetic, mixed mathematics, were included in the number of the Vedangas, or members of the Vedas, an almost impassable barrier may be said to have been opposed to the education of the Shudras and the women." Even should it be denied that the common elements of knowledge are forbidden by the Shastras to them—a point we think settled, but which we do not care to dispute—it cannot be questioned that usage is opposed to their education. The prejudice against women being taught to read and write has been up to our own age deep and universal. They are considered dangerous accomplishments. It is supposed that they will destroy modesty, induce pride, encourage intrigue, and bring down calamity on her who is thus fatally gifted, as well as upon the husband who is infatuated enough to marry her who is thus dangerously gifted, or to allow her, when his wife, to acquire these dubious qualifications and for these and other reasons it is that women, with but rare exceptions, are left in total ignorance.

Another unhappy element in their lot is the very subordinate position all women, excepting the Guinee, or head of the family, occupy. The latter is usually the mother-in-law, or, in case of her death, the eldest brother's wife; and in a respectable family the number of subordinate females is considerable. These personages all the world over, are suspected of having a prejudice against a son's wife, and their own training in India is certainly not fitted to make them better than mothers elsewhere; hence the sayings of southern India—"If the mother-in-law break the pan, it is earthen; if the daughter-in-law break it, it is a golden vessel." "Tears come into the eyes of a daughter-in-law six months after the death of the mother-in-law." Even if the yoke of the lady-superior be easy, there are other domestic contingencies which threaten the happiness of the dweller in the Zenana. The partialities of the Guinee for some one of her own widowed daughters, perchance returned by her unhappy loss to the paternal abode, or for one of her own daughters-in-law, or for some of the grand-children; the greater affection exhibited by one husband than by another; the richer clothes and more precious ornaments obtained from a husband by one wife. These and a variety of other causes disturb greatly the peace of families, and keep

* See Bhagabhat.

the female apartments in a state of chronic warfare. Nor does the influence of a husband mitigate those evils to any appreciable extent. He probably, with his favourite lawgiver, attributes the evils of the Zenana, not to the tyranny and selfish folly of his own sex, but to women's "mutable temper, their want of settled affection, and their perverse nature;" "their love of their bed, of their seat, and of ornaments, impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief and bad conduct," and therefore he thinks it hopeless to reason with such beings, and makes up his mind that the evil cannot be helped, only that he will repress it with a strong hand when it troubles his own repose. And these evils are intensified because there is no escape from them, not even a temporary one. How much strife and ill feeling are avoided in an English home by our freer usages. Many a domestic storm blows over, because a woman when she sees it gathering, puts on her bonnet and takes an agreeable walk, or makes a call or two, which wonderfully restores her own good nature, and gives time to the antagonistic element at home also to cool down. Or there is an easy and efficacious retreat in some genial book; or in the thousand occupations which fill an Englishwoman's hands and thoughts. Even should the home pressure become intolerable, there are a multitude of honourable expedients which are within reach of most women either of education or of energy. The Hindu woman has literally no antidote and no means of escape. She must bear the full force of whatever adverse circumstances fall to her lot, and the only way of escape is through the dreary gate of death.

In what way a respectable woman spends her time, is a question involved in some mystery, from the fact that she appears to have nothing to do. Of course the poor have plenty of occupation. They labour quite as hard as the same class in England. But the richer classes have apparently nothing to engage their hands or their thoughts. They have no furniture to clean, no clothes to make or mend; no "fancy work" to interest them, no letters to answer, and no novel "to finish." We know that they spend much time in devotion; more, considerably, than she who worships a purer divinity and holds a truer faith; we are told—and shall we not believe it, for they are women?—that they attend elaborately to the toilet; we believe that they give long audience to the menials who bring the gossip of the neighbourhood, and that games of skill and of chance, like cards, dice and chess, are much played.

It is obvious, however, from what we have described, that the ordinary life of a Hindu woman is a very unenviable one. Her

sources of happiness are very few, and they are all of an inferior nature. The causes of her humiliation are very numerous. She is deemed to inactivity. She is most trusted if she be ignorant. From childhood she is taught that she is too weak and wicked to be confided in, or consulted; that she is not fit to be the equal, but only the servant and plaything of man; that it is presumptuous, if not wicked, for her to desire to aspire to know, and to do. Thus do they live and die, with all the rich and beautiful dowry with which they have been gifted by God, undeveloped and repressed; like lovely flowers in the depths of a forest, unseen by any eyes but such as cannot comprehend their beauty; or like precious herbs instinct with healing virtues, which are not dreamt of by the rude races in whose lands they flourish.

Of the precise amount of influence possessed by women in families, it is difficult to speak positively. In social matters they are left, to a great extent, to do as they please. Their wishes respecting religious observances are much deferred to; and in the distribution of property they usually have rights which cannot be ignored. A clever, scheming, active woman, will of course get power, and often wield it over her own husband; nor are the cases unrequent in which a man becomes the unconscious and willing servant of a wife, who has fascinated him with her beauty or her superior mental endowments. The following extracts contain much truth, although the writer is certainly disposed to rate the position of women too highly in the social scale.—

‘The laws of the Hindoos, instead of being degrading to women as it respects the rights of property, may be regarded as more indulgent than those of most nations. Hence in almost every transaction, respecting family property, the women have great influence, and show considerable tact and aptitude for business, and are not very easily outwitted by the cunning tricks about title deeds &c., in which the Indian lawyers are often better versed, than in the simpler rules of common honesty. As the women have legal rights to certain parts of all real family property, very few bargains can be made about it, without their consent. The same may be said with respect to all marriage transactions, affecting not merely their own children, but also their grand-children; and a man applying for the hand of a damsel, either for himself, or his son, makes perfectly sure that all is right, if he has once got the consent of the grandmother. As far as the elderly women, in general, are concerned it may be safely stated, that scarcely any important step, affecting the family interests, can be taken, either by their sons, or husbands, without their consent.’

‘That there is a great want of gallantry and of external attention to females in India, especially in Bengal, (where the men being, even for India, proverbially destitute of manliness, are notorious for their harsh treatment of women) there can be no doubt; but that Indian women, generally, are so entirely deprived of all social influence, and even common respect, as some writers, whose observation has been confined chiefly to Bengal, have represented, is entirely contrary to all my experience, in those parts of India where I have resided. They do not indeed appear so much on the open stage of life, as their more privileged, and better instructed sisters in Europe, but their influence behind the scenes, is not less powerful, as every one who has much to do with native society, soon becomes aware. Indeed, very seldom can a man complete any engagement, or important business transaction, unless he is a very common business man, without first having settled the affair with his privy council, in the female apartments of his house. In India, as in Europe, a man either respects his wife’s judgment sufficiently to make him wish to have her advice, or he stands in such awe of her resentment, as to make him very reluctant to proceed in any cause opposed to her will. The share which women have in family property, would of course, render many transactions entirely void, if not carried on with their consent, and in almost all family affairs, whether secular or religious, their influence is very great. That of the elderly women, if they happen to be possessed of considerable sagacity, is not unfrequently even greater than that of the men, but the younger women being usually treated very much as children, even after they are married, and have young children of their own, have not nearly so much influence as women of the same age in Europe, being almost entirely under the authority of their mothers-in-law, who claim, and exercise over them, and their children, the same authority as over their own unmarried daughters. Marriage merely transfers authority, over a very young woman, from her own parents, to her parents-in-law, to whom her husband also, is still, to a large extent, subject. Nearly all the power, of which the family system in India deprives the younger women, is transferred, not, as is sometimes supposed, to the men, whether fathers, brothers, or husbands, but to the elder female members of their families, on either side. Unless where polygamy is practised, which is only the case among a few of the wealthier classes, the custom of women of respectability being excluded, or of excluding themselves, from public society, instead of diminishing female influence, greatly increases it, by concentrating the active and

'untiring energies of woman, more directly, and constantly, on domestic and family affairs. The sphere of female activity being much contracted, it naturally acts with more intensity. If it is circumscribed to comparatively fewer objects, these few are pursued with the greater avidity; and, consequently, the energies that, in European female society, find scope abroad, are, in Indian life, entirely spent at home.*'

. But they are exposed to certain contingencies which go far to destroy even in anticipation, the small modicum of happiness spared to them. These are the marriage of a second wife by their husbands; and the dread of being left to all the humiliations of perpetual widowhood. British humanity and beneficence have freed them from other two causes of overwhelming sorrow,—the possible loss of their female offspring through infanticide, and immolation with their deceased husbands.

Divorce and polygamy are both allowed by Hindu law, though neither of them are as much practised as is generally supposed. And the Hindu who can afford it, always prefers taking a second wife to divorcing the first one. Thus she is disgraced, and, it it may be, practically put aside, without being legally divorced. There is a reason for this:—Hinduism presumes that a wife can never be free from her husband, even if he die. This notion is embodied in the popular saying,—“He whose widow is not dead has half his body in the land of the living;” and gave rise both to the suttee rite and the prohibition of marriage to widows. We cannot attribute this idea to any other source than excessive jealousy, a jealousy which abuses despotic power up to the utmost limits of human existence. It follows that wives are disgraced, superseded by others, and practically put away, but they still continue in the power of their husbands, and are not, strictly speaking, divorced, unless under very special circumstances. Menu, thus defines the law:—‘Even though a man have married a young woman in legal form, yet he may abandon her, if he find her blemished, afflicted with disease, * * * * and given to him with fraud. If any man give a faulty damsel in marriage, without disclosing her blemish, the husband may annul that act of her ill-minded giver.’ ‘A wife, who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred to her lord, who is incurably diseased, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife. A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year: she, whose children are all dead in the tenth; she, who brings forth

* Recollections of Northern India. By the Rev. W. Buyers, p. 399-400,

'only daughters in the eleventh; she who speaks unkindly without delay; but she, who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent. If a wife, legally superseded, shall depart in wrath from the house, she must either instantly be confined, or abandoned in the presence of the whole family.*

It will be seen that loop-holes are not wanting for such as desire to use them; but for various reasons they are not much used. There is among men in this country, a strong feeling of the sanctity and indissolubility of the nuptial bond, though a lamentable laxity with regard to its obligations; they are kept therefore from indulging largely in the practice of divorce. Then if a wife is troublesome, passionate, or refractory, he has the means at hand of keeping her at a distance from him, and leaving her to herself. In this he certainly has an advantage over Englishmen. They cannot imprison refractory spouses in a corner of the house, for custom brings husband and wife into constant intercourse, and few are the really unworthy wives who are discreet enough, in times of strife, to allow the opportunity to pass of "speaking their minds." The Hindu, on the other hand, is master of the situation. He need not approach his wife. He can quietly keep out of her way. Thus by avoiding her he enjoys an amount of domestic quiet for which he may well be envied by many an unhappy Englishman, whose wife is "a free-born Briton" as well as himself, and knows well how to abuse her freedom.

Laxity of morals must be adduced as another cause why Hindus do not more frequently supersede or divorce their wives. It is the opprobrium of Hinduism that it does not stigmatise impurity as a sin, or, since the word sin has a totally different meaning as explained by a Christian and a Brahmin, let us say, as an immorality. He who cares not for his wife, forsakes her for others, without compunction and almost without shame. This is an evil as culpable as it is wide spread, as pernicious as it is hateful.

But second marriages are occasionally contracted, chiefly when the first wife has not given birth to a son, or when her son is dead; for, to have a son who shall perform his father's funeral obsequies and thus secure peace to him and his ancestors, is the one necessity of a parent. Such unions are happily not common, and, from all we can glean, we conclude that not more than one

* The Code chap ix 72, 73, 80, 83.

married man in fifty has a second wife.* Yet the dread of such an addition being made to the establishment of her lord, seems to be the great fear of every woman, and regarded either as such a disgrace or such a calamity, that the little child is taught to pray that her husband may be satisfied with her, and never desire to take a second wife. The reasons for her repugnance are very obvious and very justifiable, but it is not necessary for us to give them.

Among the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal, it is well known that polygamy is the rule; though it is a happy sign of the growth of a healthier public opinion, that the custom is now looked on by a large portion of the community as both demoralizing and unjust. Mr. Robinson, in the following passage delineates the main features of the custom.

'When a daughter of any family is married to a Kulin Brahman, the honour of that family is increased, and there are too many parents willing to pay any price to become so illustriously allied. Except from the Shrotrigas, a favoured Brahman caste, Kulins may not legally receive wives from any families inferior to themselves. But the love of money on the one side, and the lust of rank on the other, find it not impossible to agree upon terms. With virtuous exceptions, Kulins study to make the most of the estimation in which their order is held. Before condescending to accept a wife, they will hardle a sufficient fee; and they determine the price at which they will sell their favours, by the extent of the demand for husbands of their value, and by the amount of risk the bridegroom will incur, in the proposed alliance, of depriving his posterity of honours so advantageous to himself. In other respects proudly indolent, many Kulins get more than their living by going about the country, assisted by Ghataks or professional Brahman negotiators, to show compassion to the daughters of the respectable and ambitious. It is not uncommon for one Kulin to count twenty wives of his own; and a case occurred in which a lucky individual was known to be blessed with not fewer than one hundred and eighty. A large establishment for a poor man! Not exactly; for the husband in such a case, does not dream of keeping all his wives under his own roof; most of them remain with their parents or with their paternal relations. Prudently fixing his abode near the richest of the families with which he is matrimonially connected, he visits the others as he finds it worth his while to do so. The wife must pay for every glimpse of her precious master. She

* It is far otherwise with the Mahomedans.

'may hardly afford to see him again after the day of marriage; and few and far between, in comparison with what ought to be their number are the visits welcomed by the majority of his ladies. The perplexed offspring of such unions cannot count their step-mothers and half-brothers,—know not, in fact, who they are, or where they live.

'While Kulin men are in such request, the greatest difficulty is found in securing husbands for Kulin females. Not at liberty to marry into inferior grades, and commonly lacking the means necessary to purchase alliances with gentlemen of their own castes, they are out-bid and eclipsed by women, who ought to be well contented with bridegrooms of humbler rank. Frequently, on their attaining a marriageable age, their parents find themselves in extreme perplexity to avoid the condemnation of leaving them destitute of the matrimonial sacrament. In too many cases, compelled to throw themselves on the compassion of some decrepit or even dying Kulin, they are thankful when they can persuade the old man or hopeless invalid to save their family from infamy, by obligingly adding another to his long list of useless wives. And here is one secret of the terrible infanticide prevalent in the country.*

There will not probably be a single reader of these pages but who will heartily desire that this abominable and demoralising practice were brought to a termination. There are but two ways by which this can be done—by the growth of a public opinion which shall frown it into extinction, or by legislative enactment. That it will finally come to an end by the former means, if not by the latter, is certain; but we are loth to wait for the result of this process, for like all great evils in a land like this, it is very slow in dying; yet, on the other hand, there are enormous difficulties in the way of prohibitive legislation on the matter. Were Kulins alone addicted to polygamy it might more easily be dealt with, but Hindu and Mahomedan alike recognize the practice, and the latter largely adopt it. We think, however, that there is a clearly ascertainable distinction between the custom of the class and the custom of the communities. The latter base their practice on law, the former only on custom. Now we are not bound to recognize the latter where a great and pregnant evil is concerned, and since we believe it would be impossible to cite any Hindu authority of any weight in favour of Kulinism, we see no insurmountable difficulty in the way of its prohibition. Of course it would be at the option of any Kulin

* The Daughters of India, p. 75-6.

to marry a second wife on the ground of the sanction of Hindu law, if he could plead it.

But we must pass on to notice the enforced widowhood of every woman who is unfortunate enough to lose her husband, however brief and transient may have been her union with him.* It was a noble and beneficent act to rescue widows from the possibility of immolation; but we question if it has been ever fully understood to what a fate it preserves them; a fate which, unhappily, legal enactment cannot touch, and which can only be destroyed by the spread of right and benevolent principles, throughout the whole of society. It is indeed easy to understand how many a woman, aware of the hard and terrible destiny which awaited her if she lived, preferred deliberately the short agonies of cremation to such a life of sorrow.

She is deemed the happy woman by her sex, who dies whilst her husband lives. Even the name widow is a reproach, and few curses are so deep as the one—"may you become a widow." Such a lot is not regarded so much in the light of a misfortune, as in that of a curse, inflicted by some angry god for heavy guilt contracted by its victim in this life or in some previous birth. She is therefore condemned rather than pitied, shunned as a loathed and evil thing, rather than sympathized with. Nay, such is the frantic spirit of Hinduism, that he who helps to make her suffer, and who infuses additional sorrow into her cup, supposes that he is furthering the purposes of heaven, and working out meritoriously the designs of inexorable fate.

Immediately on the death of her husband, though she be a child of eight years of age, she is divested of all her ornaments; nor can she keep them as precious memorials of the past; they pass from her possession. If they are of shell or wax they are broken, if of precious material they are sold. Henceforth, no garment of fine, coloured, or embroidered texture must be worn, but only such as are coarse. It is meritorious in her to be slovenly. A married wife delights in the plaiting of her hair, and the anointing of her person with unguents or odours, but the widow must discard all these things. She must not even lie upon a bed. Hindus are studious about their food; the most refined Parisians are not more delicate in the selection of sauces and cordials than are the wealthy here about their curries and sweetmeats. Yet the relict of

* In writing thus, we have not forgotten that as the law now stands, a widow may legally marry, but hitherto it has remained almost a dead letter. It is to the disgrace of the "enlightened" classes, that, though there are some millions of widows in India, not forty have been married since the passing of the act in 1856.

the wealthy Brahmin, as well as her poorer sister, must feed upon the coarsest and scantiest fare. She must never have more than one meal a day. Two days in the month she must maintain a strict fast. On these days she must not even moisten her mouth by swallowing her saliva. Water is forbidden her; and if she is thirsty, the Shastras advise, that she present sweetmeats and cocoanut water to a Brahmin, whose eating them will, by a large stretch of the imagination, satisfy her hunger and quench her thirst! She is forbidden to eat either fish, or animal food. The rice she uses must be of the coarsest description. She is not allowed all kinds of sweetmeats; nor must those she takes be bought in the bazaars. With a refinement of cruelty, which is fiendish for its cool inhumanity and contemptible for its punctiliousness, it is enacted, lest starved on one meal a day she should glut her appetite at other hours with sweetmeats, that she must never eat them but at her meals. She must not appear at any scene of festivity or gladness. Even to marriages she is not invited, and if, on account of proximity of relationship she does appear, she is not allowed to take a part in the ceremonies. From all this neither age, decrepitude nor delicacy of frame exempts her. 'Let the widow emaciate her body by living on roots, fruits and flowers, let her not even pronounce the name of another man after her lord is deceased; let her continue till death forgiving injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding sensual pleasures, and practising virtue.'† 'The widow shall never exceed one meal a day, nor sleep on a bed; if she do so, her husband falls from Swarga.'‡

This hopeless, heart-crushing existence is endured literally by millions of women. The number of widows is proportionately much larger than it is in a country like England. It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at perfect accuracy among a people who invariably suspect every attempt to collect statistics; but an intelligent native writer says, 'in many families the widows considerably out-number the married women.' In endeavouring to discover the percentage of widows we received from two credible sources the following figures: which of course can only be received as proximate.

Married women.	Widows.	Unmarried.
60	25	15
50	30	20
		} 100

Two causes account for the large number of widows. Every girl is married before she is eleven years of age. Then we have but

† Menu.

‡ The Smriti.

to reflect upon the enormous mortality taking place, between the latter age and the marriageable age in English society, to observe, how enormously the probabilities of widowhood are increased, after the widest deductions are made for the decease of the gentler sex. It must too be remembered that the number of widows is never diminished by marriage. Coupled with this most deplorable and unsatisfactory state of things, there is the other fact, that there are no unmarried, adult women in India. Every widower therefore is driven, whatever may be his age, to marry a child under eleven years of age. We must take into account the enormous number of men whom death deprives of their wives, after they themselves have passed their twenty-fifth year, and, since few Hindus remain unmarried, we shall perceive the vast number of incongruous, inauspicious marriages from all these marrying only children. Thus does one folly lead on to another; and nature, violated and despised, avenges herself by the inconveniences and suffering she allows to fall upon her unthinking and unrighteous contemners.

The sorrow and the crime caused by enforced widowhood are far beyond conception. There is first of all, the humiliation and self-denial inherently associated with the state. Possibly it is lightened in many cases by a humanity which struggles against Shastras and conventional inhumanity; but, admitting this, how dreary, desolate, hopeless and intensely wretched, must be the lot of all those myriads who are doomed to such a fate, by one of the most heartless and despotic series of laws and customs, which the wickedness and stupidity of man ever devised. We maintain that there is not a more unnecessary, and pitiless evil in the whole world than this, nor until it is swept away, can the men of India lay any claim to be considered a great and civilized people.

The difficulties and embarrassments it brings upon society are necessarily very great. A polytheistic race will never be either charitable or rich. There is a large amount of enforced almsgiving in India, but very little free, spontaneous benevolence; and even where there is Brahminical rank, there is often great poverty. Hindus and their offspring are therefore thrown upon the tender mercies of heartless, and poor relatives, and these too not their own but their husband's in most instances. The increase of domestic poverty arising from this cause alone must be very great; and the suffering and humiliation induced by dependence on those who not only look upon widows as accursed by the gods, but as an unwelcome burden upon their resources, may in some measure be imagined.

But humiliation and pecuniary embarrassment are by no means the only, or the greatest evils resulting from this unreasonable and pernicious custom; its immoral bearings are very obvious. Domestic purity and fidelity are greatly valued and jealously guarded in every Hindu home, but how often must these be destroyed and broken in a country where servants and dependents are numerous, where the various members of a family cluster in patriarchal fashion around the same centre, where religion ignores all moral instruction and discipline, and where youthful widows are but too numerous. Familiarised, as the latter are from childhood, with matrimonial associations; left without any moral discipline calculated to control the passions and guide the feelings; with a religion whose most popular legends delight in stories like that of Krishna and the milk maids of Brindaban; with no immediate protector to receive the lawful love of a heart, which is the more disposed to love because it has none on whom to lavish its affections, or by whom its emotions and sympathies may be observed or directed, we may well believe that they are often drawn aside from the path of integrity and honour. We are convinced that were the truth known on this subject, it would reveal an amount of crime which would be absolutely appalling.

Need we say that these facts present us with a state of society most deplorable and unsatisfactory; and the question naturally arises, what can be done to improve and elevate it. This opens up a subject whose ramifications are very wide and far reaching; and without attempting any thing at present but the slightest indication of the directions in which benevolent and remedial influences should point, we may say to every one who wishes the women of India to assume their rightful place of grace, dignity and importance in society;—let the education of boys and young men be largely impregnated with just and rational instruction respecting the true relations of their mothers, wives and sisters to themselves; let every opportunity be sought of drawing the native mind, not violently, but gradually, toward better customs, and a nobler and more confiding treatment of the weaker sex; and let every opportunity be judiciously and zealously embraced, of pushing forward the great, but difficult and delicate work, of female education, with the ultimate if not the immediate object in view of winning them over to the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

'ART. 'VI.—*Reports of the Special Commissioners in the Indigo Districts.* 1861.

2. *Nil Darpan, or the Indigo Planting Mirror.* 1861

' 3. *The Nil Darpan Trial.* 1861

DISPENSING with a formal preface, we beg to submit to the notice of the reader, some further remarks on the subject to which we directed his attention in our last number.

It is stated that at some factories, the accounts of the native collectors of rents are kept in a very imperfect manner, and exhibit discrepancies of a grave nature; that in several instances, the balances entered against the farmers, were found, on investigation, to be nearly double the sum which was due.* On one occasion, a register was brought forward, the last pages of which, comprising the accounts of several months, had apparently been recently written, for the leaves adhered together, rendering it highly probable they had not been opened since the respective items were entered.† The collector of the district of Kaspore came to the court of the commissioner, and being requested to give in a list of the chief defaulters in the villages under his charge, commenced to make it, but, after writing a few names, decamped, unwittingly leaving behind him bundles of papers, which, on being examined, were found to contain a double set of cash books. The new one, which had been prepared evidently for the purpose of communicating to Mr. Montresor wrong information, presented, on being compared with the original, alterations to the disadvantage of the ryots, amounting to more than two hundred rupees.‡ While noticing these frauds, justice compels us to condemn, in the most emphatic manner, the means which were used to discover them. It appears to us, that the commissioner had no right whatever to open these bundles, in the absence, and without the permission of the owner, and by doing so showed a great want of delicacy and propriety; yet he voluntarily gives a detailed narrative of this cunning transaction, and instead of being afflicted with a feeling of shame, as every individual with a nice sense of honour would be, he seems to pride himself on his acuteness. Some villagers who were not entered among the

* Mr. Montresor's Report, pars. 34, 36, 39.

† Ibid " 13.

‡ Ibid " 29.

debtors, had large sums standing in the books against them, and against the names of others, included in the list of defaulters, the balance was as small as half an anna.* For this storage proceeding what reason can be assigned? A suit, however excellent may be its object, is, as every one knows, who is acquainted with the country, very expensive and attended with much inconvenience, while the obtaining of justice is quite problematical; it is, therefore, likely, that the debtors who were not summoned had presented hush-money to the collectors, and the persons who owed little or nothing to the factory, had been cited to a warning from them bribes, by means of working on their fears of being taken to court, which, in the minds of the poor, is a place associated with irretrievable ruin.

The landlord of Shamuntah, on renewing the lease of a farm, demanded a bonus of five hundred rupees, which was given by Mr. Larmour, who, to realize this sum, levied contributions on the tenants, and, in little more than three years, obtained half of it. As there was some reluctance manifested about further payments, the native collector sought the aid of the commissioner, saying, that a word from him would cause the ryots to bring in the instalments which were due, but as the demand appeared to be of an objectionable character, he declined to use his authority to enforce it. In explanation of these subscriptions being made, it is stated that the bonus was tendered to the landlord, Puran Chundra Roy, to induce him to lease the farm to the factory, and prevent its being let to Nobakisto Paul, who, it was apprehended by the villagers, would increase the rents; to facilitate this arrangement, which would be advantageous to them in a pecuniary point of view, some of the head tenants of the place agreed to make good the sum to the Mulnath Concern.†

The commissioner observes, 'On my arrival at Domurhoodah a number of ryots from several villages attended, and requested me to receive from them rents in advance for the ensuing year. These were villagers chiefly connected with the properties in Mr. Hills' Concern. As Mr. Hills had brought no complaint of arrears against his ryots, and my duty was in no way connected with the ensuing year, I informed them I could not at present act in the matter; but that if a charge of withholding rent was brought against them, I would take their offer into consideration, at the same time giving them to understand that a verbal representation of this nature would be of no effect without

* Mr. Montresor's Report, para. 13.

† Ibid „ 36, 37.

'the simultaneous production of the money.* On this paragraph Mr. Hills remarks: 'it is altogether against the nature and habits of the Bengal peasantry to tender due rent before it is demanded of them. The request therefore to pay for the ensuing year, not then due, ought to have struck Mr. Montresor, that there was some ulterior object in view for so unusual a proceeding. As it appears that that gentleman had no business to inquire into their motives and actions, but only to accept their words and give them full credit for honesty and fair dealing, I beg leave to supply his omission, and explain why the request was made. He had not looked into their accounts, had he done so, he would have discovered that those very ryots were greatly in arrear for the year just closed, and which I have not been able as yet to recover; yet they appeared before him with cash in hand, mark, not to pay up what they really owed me, (and which was then upwards of annas 8 or half of their rental,) but for him to receive the money and give them credit for the subsequent year's rent, in accordance with the receipts they held for the year just closed. Their object was solely this. Shortly before Mr. Montresor's arrival in this district, in the months of Falgoon and Chyete, I issued notices to those ryots, through the local Deputy Collectors, under section 13 of Act X of 1839, that from the ensuing year I would demand from them a certain increase of rent, and it was with this fraudulent intention, of avoiding the necessity of complying with those notices, that the offer was made, and credit asked in accordance with the receipts they held for the previous year.†

'In all matters of rent,' says Mr. Montresor, 'the Tuhsildar is the sole medium of communication between the zemindar and the ryot. No money for rent reaches the factory, and no receipt for payment goes to the ryot, except through his hands. It is to his report alone that the European zemindar trusts for his knowledge of the progress in the collections of the rents of the village; and the statement and returns of this officer form the chief documents placed before the courts in rent cases.‡

From the above it evidently appears the Planters are in the hands of the collectors, and to suppose they are cognisant of the frauds committed, would be doing them great injustice; for it is highly probable they are victimized to a larger extent than the ryots, and that those who are paid to serve them, rob them right

* Report 17th May, par. 7.

† Mr. James Hills' Reply to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 27th July 1861. par. 3.

‡ Mr. Montresor's Report 10th June 1861 par. 15.

and left, without the least compunction. It may, however, be asked, is not employing agents who are guilty of forgery, perjury, extortion, and nearly every possible crime very reprehensible? As far as they have a knowledge of their proceedings, and we are disposed to think they cannot be altogether ignorant, it must be admitted they are much to be blamed for retaining them on their estates; but from this acknowledgment it does not necessarily follow that we should conclude they are lost to all sense of honour, and capable of soiling their hands with money wrung from the sufferings of the poor. Hindoo, Mohammedan, and European gentlemen, and also Lieutenant Governors have drawn pictures, which make some of the natives that sit on the bench, plead at the bar, and fill other offices in court, as great villains as ever walked the face of the earth; yet no one has breathed a suspicion of Civilians being corrupt; and though they could, in a single day, make ample fortunes by bribes, their integrity it is believed, never yields to the influence of the most powerful temptation; and is it an undue exercise of charity to say, that Planters exhibit similar virtue? Where are the facts to prove the contrary? That it is the duty of Government, of Planters, Merchants and private individuals to employ honest agents to conduct their business, must be allowed; but if they fail to do this, are we to infer, without satisfactory evidence to warrant the inference, that whenever roguery is practised by their servants, it is done that they themselves may obtain a share of the proceeds of iniquity? No one would impute such a crime to a European judge, lawyer, physician or clergyman; and why should it be imputed to the Planters? It is resolved to use every means, foul or fair, to drive them out of the country; and are there Europeans who can be so far duped as to join natives to effect this object? But suppose it to be accomplished, what step would be taken next? Would not class after class be banished or swept into the sea, till there was not an Englishman left? When they thought they had us in their power, did they spare community, sex, or age of the Saxon race, or of their own countrymen that had identified themselves with us by embracing our faith? and can we imagine four short years have wrought a miraculous change in their feelings towards us? Did the rebellion teach them no lesson? If they had doubts before, did it not put those doubts to flight, that in valour and humanity, in principle, in morals, and in every thing else which constitutes the character of real men, we are their superiors; and is it not this superiority which the disaffected to the British rule hate, and for which the well disposed, who form the body of the people, respect and esteem us?

Many villages that had relinquished the cultivation of Indigo, came to an agreement among themselves to refuse the cesses which the factory-servants had been accustomed to levy, but to enforce the payment of them the collectors declined to receive rent when offered, or, to avoid a direct refusal, absented themselves from the place for months, and could not be found. Meanwhile the non-complying ryots were entered in the list of defaulters for the purpose of having suits instituted against them.* According to the accounts handed in by the tenants to the commissioner, the sum paid by them in the shape of custom, perquisites and subscriptions, was from twelve to three hundred per cent. It is right, however, to observe, that though Mr. Montresor has inserted these documents in his report, he adopted no means to test their accuracy. While we feel persuaded that on examination, the amount would be found to be less than is here stated, we are prepared to believe that the sum thus deducted from the earnings of the industrious poor, in the cultivation of indigo and every other department of business, is large; that the evil is daily augmenting, and, if no steps be taken to check it, will soon become intolerable. Important documents, which speak to the disadvantage of the planting enterprise, were received without evidence, and regarding their accuracy not a single inquiry was made. This indicates something like the bias and warmth of the partisan, rather than the calmness and impartiality of the judge, in which capacity the commissioner was sent forth. A thorough sifting of these accounts might have shed great light on all business transactions, and been of eminent service to every branch of trade and commerce. He may allege that such a scrutiny did not come within his province; yet the reader is naturally led to suppose that, when he quotes documents, it must be for some purpose similar to the following; to exhibit the soundness of the conclusions at which he has arrived, confirm or refute the statements of one of the contending parties, or show the nature of their quarrel and the obstacles to an amicable adjustment of their differences; but while their accuracy is unascertained, they can answer no such purpose, and publishing them to the world under the auspices of the Government of Bengal, is calculated to mislead persons both here and in Europe, who are honestly endeavouring to form a right judgment on the indigo question. Was this the object contemplated, and did the commissioner labour to achieve it? We do not believe he did; we give him full credit for rectitude of intention, and attribute

* Mr Montresor's Report par 95.

the grave faults in his report,* rather to want of mental power than to obliquity of purpose. A great question, identified with important interests, and probably with the stability of the British rule, he cannot grasp. He appears to see objects always in a mist, and therefore indistinctly; hence his decisions are often opposed to the evidence which he brings to support them.

It is contended by the commissioner that there was nothing like a combination to repudiate the payment of rent, but he furnishes very conclusive evidence to prove the contrary. The rental of the Katgarah concern, comprising 105 villages, is rupees 86,371-10-8, the balance on the 12th of February was rupees 11,500, and at the commencement of March it was rupees 7,233-11-0.* Some astonishment is expressed that four thousand rupees should have been realized in so short period, but there is nothing to wonder at in the matter. An opinion prevailed that Government was hostile to the cultivation of indigo, which emboldened the ryots to withhold their rents, but when they heard, and the tidings soon flew abroad, that special commissioners had been appointed to enforce all legal payments, many came to the conclusion that it would be fruitless to resist longer, and therefore brought in the balances against them. In this simple way the subject may be satisfactorily explained, and we are astonished that Mr. Montresor should have felt any surprise about it. The rent of the village of Mednipore is rupees 654, and the balance was rupees 432-10-7-2†. The rent of the lands belonging to the Bansbariah concern is rupees 79,507-11-0, and the balance is 27,744-12-4.‡ In the 24th paragraph of the report it is stated, that the defaulters of twenty three villages came to the commissioners court, some without being summoned, and paid the balances standing against them, which shows they withheld payment as long as possible, and made it only when they knew it would be enforced by law: a stronger proof of their purpose to repudiate rent could hardly be furnished. That the rents were really due which were said to be repudiated, and that cases were not got up to answer some ulterior object, may be seen from the results of the suits which were instituted. At Umbicapore 79 rent cases were tried by Baboo Grish Chunder Banerjea, and terminated in the following manner: 'Forty-six defendants 'paid down the amount on the decree being pronounced; in 'twenty eight cases the balances were realized on execution, without proceeding to attachment; and, in the remaining five, two

* Mr. Montresor's Report par. 42, 43.

† Ibid, par. 78.

‡ Ibid, 17th May par. 3.

'were pending, and in three, the decree holder had not applied for 'execution up to the 27th of April.* In every case the sum claimed was pronounced by the presiding judge to be legally due, and hundreds of cases, which might be quoted, terminated in the same way, affording proofs of an irrefragable character, of a wide spread combination to repudiate rent. While the commissioner declares there is no such combination, in nearly every paragraph of his report he adduces facts, which place its existence beyond all reasonable doubt. After consuming much time in asking questions, he sometimes stops in the middle of his inquiries, hints at the culpability of one of the parties, without conveying a positive charge which might be met, and then makes the sage remark, 'however, this is not my business,' and proceeds to something else, perhaps little less foreign to his purpose. Had we not confidence in his integrity, we should be inclined to think he cut short inquiries, when a further prosecution of them seemed likely to refute foregone conclusions, but we are prepared to believe, it arose from nothing worse than an erratic disposition, which he found it impossible to control. Not having a definite idea of the nature of his mission, and the specific duties it involved, his report, as might be naturally expected, is confused, vague, and inconclusive.

We now turn to the report of the special commissioner of the county of Jessore. This is a calm and lucid document, in which facts are stated as they were elicited, without the least colouring, whatever persons they may affect, and, almost in every instance, the judgment of the reader acquiesces in the deductions drawn from them. Well acquainted with the position and character of both ryots and Planters, and with the laws relating to the great questions pending between them, Mr. Morris sees his way clearly, and performs a vast amount of business in a short period; yet bustle and distraction of mind are nowhere apparent, every investigation is deliberately conducted step by step to its close, and, whenever we cannot coincide in his opinion, we differ from him with full confidence in the honesty of his purpose. Of the existence of a league among the farmers, to repudiate rent and the execution of contracts, he entertains no doubt whatever, and those who carefully read the evidence he adduces, can hardly help coming to the same conclusion.

The annual collections of the Nischindepore concern are between twelve and thirteen thousand rupees. Out of 17,059 rupees, 4,372 of which are balances of 1859-1860, Mr. Durand, the manager, realized 2786, leaving a balance of 14,273 rupees.

* Mr. Montresor's Report 8th May 1861 para. 26.

'His own servants have turned against him, so that his accounts have been left incomplete and imperfect; and many who owe their present prosperity to his bounty are the most bitter against him. With the exception of a few bighas around the factory, there are hardly any lands which he can now call his own, and I was shown a spot, says Mr. Morris, where he has obtained an Act IV. decree, for nearly 800 bighas, and of most of which he has been virtually dispossessed by his servants; not being permitted to sow indigo on them.*' Ryots setting aside the legitimate proprietary rights of the Planter, and appropriating to their own use lands which he had been accustomed to cultivate by his labourers, is now becoming a general practice.

The sum claimed by Mr. French of Ramnagar, on account of current rents and balances amounted to 28,000 rupees, and between the 28th of April and the 10th of May, he instituted, in the court of Mr. Deputy Collector Stevens, no less than 278 suits, representing rupees 2,579-5-11.† Great difficulty is every where experienced in measuring lands, and, owing to the combination of the tenants to prevent it, it is seldom it can be done. For two months Mr. French has endeavoured in vain to measure his village of Durgapore, although his right to do so was decreed by Mr. Deputy Collector Taylor, and a protecting peon was sent to accompany the Ameen.‡ Mr. Oatts of the Hizrapore and Porahattee concerns, who is acknowledged by the farmers to be a kind and indulgent landlord, 'had not been pressing them for their rents, as he hoped that his indulgent and conciliatory policy would enable him to reap his reward in indigo. But he now admits that he has signally failed; and, excepting, perhaps, Nischindepore, there are no concerns, that I have seen,' says the commissioner, 'the future prospects of which appear so bad as these. This is a lamentable state of things, and is entirely attributable, as the people say themselves, to the bad *howà*, or surrounding and prevailing influences. In the Porahattee factory, 117 contracts for indigo cultivations were voluntarily taken, as proved by petitions to the joint Magistrate. Of these only seven have been carried out in their integrity. Honesty and good faith seem to have left the country. This was confessed to me by the Ryots themselves in the village of Marada. They spoke of the existence of a combination, and mentioned several men who instigated opposition to the factory, by reason of whom they were afraid to sow Indigo.'§

* Mr. Morris' Report, 21st May 1861, par. 2.

† Ibid 21st May 1861, par. 3.

‡ Ibid 21st May 1861, par. 4.

§ Ibid 21st May 1861, par. 4.

Since the 6th of April, Deputy Collector Baboo Rutton Lal Ghose has disposed of 283 suits instituted by the Bijolee concern, and the effect has been that, out of a yearly rental of 22,612 rupees, only 1626 remain to be realized. There is a fact connected with this concern deserving much notice, and which will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the present lawless state of the indigo districts; it shows that the farmers who are well disposed to European settlers, are not protected either in their persons or property; that they are mobbed and trampled in the dust with impunity, as if the Police and the Courts of justice had no existence. The commissioner states 'I found the inhabitants of three villages, Bijolee, Bishtodia and Damookdia, the last of which is leased from Baboo Ram Rutton Roy, entirely on Mr. Oman's side. They approved of his conduct towards them, and had given him lands in putta, and agreed to sow Indigo for him; but they begged for protection from the villagers of the surrounding villages, who had joined in a combination against the factory. Two men showed me the marks of beating, which they had sustained for their adherence to Mr. Oman, and all spoke of the intimidation and threats that had been held out to them. They also complained of their lands being forcibly taken from them, and appropriated by others. Money had also been demanded from them to support the combination.* Speaking of the Hizlabut concern, Mr. Morris says, 'It is manifest that the main body of the people is well affected towards the factory and that, were a few designing and influential men, who, by lawless violence, intimidation and evil counsels, coerce the mass, put out of the way or held in check, the former relations that existed between Mr. Roberts and his tenants would be resumed. I obtained clear and palpable proof of the existence of a combination, and the word "Committee" I heard for the first time commonly used. The ringleaders are well known characters, and the pernicious influence that they exercise was a common subject of complaint. There can be no doubt that they levy black mail in the form of subscriptions, and both in the matter of Indigo and rent, prevent the people having any connection with the factory.† Hence too much stress cannot be laid on the action of Government, and the character of the magistracy at the present time. With active and experienced officers scattered over the country, quick to uphold the right and punish the wrong, I am persuaded that a proper equilibrium

Mr. Morris' Report, 21st May 1861, par. 5.

Ibid 30th May 1861, par. 2.

'would soon be restored, and things would right of themselves. 'In other words, rents would be paid without demur, and Indigo, like any other staple, would be governed by the usual laws that regulate labour and production.'*

The Nil Darpan† is a drama in the Bengali language, which was published at Dacca, and represented in that city before a Hindoo and Mohammedan audience. The leading native characters, who are ryots, are persons of high principles, honest, faithful, and straight-forward; truce-breaking, cheating and lying in business transactions are crimes foreign to their nature, at which they stand aghast; their wives and daughters are beautiful, modest and chaste, and exemplary in each relation of life. Indeed, both the men and women are free from vice, and exhibit in their conduct the most exalted virtue. Before the advent of the planters, the place of their abode was Paradise itself; but those children of Satan came and marred the land. The European characters in the play are described as a disgrace to humanity, and without a single redeeming quality. To compel recalcant farmers to contract to cultivate indigo, Mr. Wood orders them to be imprisoned, starved, tortured, and scourged, and sometimes dispenses with the aid of others, and inflicts the punishment himself. When he speaks to the 'bloody niggers,' the designation he usually gives the ryots, it is in such foul language as would shock even the inmates of a brothel. Mrs. Wood is said to have 'no shame at all,' and believed to place her person at the service of a libidinous magistrate, who, in return for the indulgence, decides in favour of her husband all the factory suits which come before him in his judicial capacity. Ryots are condemned unheard, and thrown into prison for crimes which they never perpetrated. One of them, an aged and respectable man, in despair of obtaining justice, and weary of the miseries of life, hangs himself in jail; on hearing the sad tidings, his wife from grief becomes insane, and, in her madness, kills her favourite daughter-in-law, and then dies. The eldest son of the family also dies; the planter having laid open his skull by beating him with a club. Mr. Rogue, not Rose, as given in the English translation, who is a bachelor, has agents, both male and female, to decoy beautiful women to the factory, where they are forced to submit to his pleasure. His licentiousness is narrated in all its grossness; the door of the chamber is thrown open, and the reader is invited to enter and view with his own eyes each detail of the wickedness. Not deterred by a sense of decorum, delicacy

* Report, 30th May 1861, par 2.

† Nil, Indigo, Darpan, Looking Glass.

or shame, a feeling to which the writer appears to be a stranger, his pictures are drawn at full length, and move before us in all their filthiness; and, lest it should be supposed they are portraits of exceptional individuals, he vouches for their being true likenesses of a large community of British settlers. 'I present,' he says, 'the indigo planting mirror to the indigo planter's hand; now let every one of them observe his face.'

The conductors of two Calcutta journals, that have taken a prominent part in the indigo controversy, are charged with writing against the poor, and in favour of their oppressors, who by cruelty and lewdness have earned for themselves a distinguished place in the annals of crime; and to sink the press beneath the contempt of all right-feeling men, and make it a disgrace to the English name, it is said these editors have received a stipulated price for the prostitution of their talents. In his address to the planters the author thus speaks: 'The editors of two daily newspapers are filling their columns with your praises; and, whatever other people may think, you never enjoy pleasure from it, since you know fully the reason of their doing so. What a surprising power of attraction silver has? The detestable Judas gave the great Preacher of the Christian religion, Jesus, into the hands of odious Pilate, for the sake of thirty rupees; what wonder, then, if the proprietors of two newspapers, becoming enslaved by the hope of gaining one thousand rupees, throw the poor helpless people of this land, into the terrible grasp of your mouths.'

After a circulation of some months in native society, the Nil Darpan was translated into English, and nearly three hundred copies were sent home, under the official frank of the Government of Bengal,* addressed to private gentlemen, supposed to exercise great power in their respective circles, editors of newspapers, secretaries to philanthropic, religious and political societies, and influential members of the upper and lower Houses of Parliament. The parties attacked were left in the dark, while their reputations were being destroyed in their native land, and knew nothing of the clandestine procedure, till information respecting it reached them from a private source. When aware of the

* Sir Mordaunt Wells says, the circulation was nearly three hundred. The edition consisted of 500 copies. Mr. Seton-Karr states that the Indian circulation amounted to only 14 copies, and Mr. Lushington informed the court, that the copies undistributed were about 200, which makes the number despatched to England to be what we have mentioned. In the Calcutta Christian Observer for August, page 246, it is said 'about a hundred and fifty copies were sent home,' but whether this statement be correct, or the number were more or less, the nature of the proceeding is just the same.

existence and circulation of the pamphlet, they wrote to the Government of Bengal and asked for an explanation. The Lieut. Governor refused to comply with their request, and answered their communications in the vaguest manner, endeavouring to treat as a trivial affair, what, to men who had every thing staked on their good name, was a matter of life and death. Had an honest and ample apology been given, and the wrong done repaired, as far as possible, it is probable the gentlemen assailed would not have thought of ulterior proceedings; but being rudely repulsed, where they ought to have met with courtesy and redress, they resorted to the law. This was a step at which we felt no surprise, nor could in the least blame, still it was one which we regretted, because we apprehended it might interfere with the freedom of discussion, which at all times, and especially in the present juncture of affairs, is necessary to the permanent good of the realm. The Printer, Mr. Manuel was indicted in the Supreme Court for various libels on the Editor of the Calcutta 'Englishman' and the general body of indigo planters. Mr. Manuel, though legally wrong, was not considered to be so morally, and the suit was instituted against him, as the only way left open to arrive at a knowledge of the real culprit; therefore, on his giving up the name of the Rev. James Long, as the gentleman who brought the book to his press, the prosecutors, through their counsel, begged the Judge to treat him with all possible forbearance. He was in consequence fined only ten rupees, and left the court without the least reflection on his character.

So far from concealing his connection with the Nil Darpan, and wishing to avoid the legal penalties consequent on its publication, Mr. Long desired a declaration to be made in court, that he himself was responsible for the work, and, in compliance with this request, the printer gave up his name. He was indicted on the same charges as Mr. Manuel, and prosecuted on the 19th, 20th and 24th of July. The court was crowded on each day of the trial, and more attention and interest were awakened than had ever been witnessed before. Gentlemen of every grade of the Civil Service, Military Officers, members of the press, the Chamber of Commerce and the Trades' Association, merchants and bankers, clergymen and planters were present and watched the proceedings as persons deeply concerned in the result. Every one felt that a battle, regulated by the rigid forms of law, was now to be fought; that Government Officials and European Settlers stood face to face before a judge whom neither could bias. It was no longer a conflict between freedom and despotic power, between the principles of agriculture, trade, and commerce,

enunciated by Adam Smith, and those enforced by the Ruler of Bengal. These and all other questions for the moment gave place to the following. Have the people that have come from the mother country to this distant dependency of the Crown, by barbarity and lewdness, on the one hand, or cunning and meanness on the other, ceased to be Englishmen? The audience recognized this to be the great point at issue, and foresaw that the guilty, however exalted their position, would be brought down to the ground filled with shame.

The prosecution was conducted with ability and fairness; but one portion of the counsel's address calls for animadversion; that part of it in which he alluded to the Rev. Mr. Smith, the martyr of Demerara, and whom he accused of 'inciting the negroes to insurrection, mutiny, and rapine.' This language was held not at a petty police tribunal, where it might be allowed to pass unnoticed, but in the metropolitan court of India. At the present day, when all educated Englishmen have a respectable acquaintance with the laws of their country, and the great events recorded in her annals, it was presuming too much on their ignorance, to suppose the history of our West Indian colonies was a region of literature they had not traversed. What are the facts of the case? Let us for a moment advert to them. From an edict issued in 1823, the West Indian planters believed they possessed authority to give or withhold passes to their slaves to attend worship on the sabbath. When the slaves, did go to the house of God, a police official accompanied them 'to judge of the doctrine taught to the negroes.' This surveillance was sanctioned and required by the express orders of the Governor. Many planters declined to give passes, or, in a spirit of mockery, gave them when the hours of divine service were over, and they were of no use. Some of the slaves had the moral courage to attend christian ordinances without permission, and, in consequence, subjected themselves to grievous punishments. The news of parliament having sent out peremptory instructions forbidding the use of the lash in the field, was not immediately made known, and a mistaken apprehension having got abroad, that a dispatch was also kept from them which announced their freedom, their fiery passions were roused. As the period of emancipation drew nigh, some of the planters became more resolved to indemnify themselves by increased exactions, for the services they were about to lose. The condition of the slaves was at last intolerable, and driven mad by oppression, they made a strike for their liberty, accompanied with rapine and bloodshed. These calamities excited, in every wise and humane

person, feelings of regret, but surely not of surprise. The civil and military authorities, alarmed at the results of their own misgovernment, threw the blame on the clergy, and made them victims. At a signal previously settled, the striking at noon of the town clock of Montego Bay, twenty-six functionaries, we have all their names before us, 'crying now let us go,' rushed from the sanctuary of justice, and, gathering a mob, proceeded to the church, in which two thousand negroes were accustomed to worship their Maker, and laid the edifice in ruins; and, in the course of a few days, ten more churches in the western part of the Island, were reduced to ashes. The pastor, the Rev. Thomas Burchell, a Baptist clergyman, was thrown into jail. To deter other ministers from preaching the gospel to the African race, the following placard, measuring nineteen inches in length and twelve in breadth, was posted on the door of the court-house. Whether this was done by planters or Government officials could not be ascertained; but, whoever were the authors of the document, they had Satan's aptness in quoting scripture.

PLACARD.

"But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him, even that prophet shall die" Deuteronomy, ch. xviii, v. 20.

'May this be the fate of all such as Burchell!'

The Reverend Mr. Smith was charged with having instigated the revolt at Demerara, and was conveyed to George Town under a strong military guard. After an imprisonment of two months, he was tried by a court martial. Every circumstance was viewed and treated as suspicious, the laws of evidence were set at defiance, he was declared guilty and sentenced to be executed; but, while in jail, death came to his relief. His enemies, or rather, we should say, the enemies of his religion, which was raising the negroes to the dignity of men, not having their wrath appeased by the martyrdom of the husband, resolved to wreak their vengeance on his heart-broken wife. She purposed to pay the last rites of respect to the dead. To deprive her of this sad consolation, the police, by the orders of the Governor, took away the body, and threatened to send every one to jail that presumed to attend the burial. Brave in her sorrow, as women only can be brave, she followed, accompanied by a female friend, and saw the remains rudely sepulchred by the constabulary force. Not yet satisfied, the authorities had the heartlessness to take from the woman, whom they had made a widow in a foreign land, two hundred guilders, under the pretence of payment for the main-

tenance of her husband while in prison; and they then filled her cup of anguish to the brim, by knocking down the monument which an affectionate flock had reared to his memory. It is to be hoped that such outrages on justice and humanity, were never perpetrated before, and will never be witnessed again. They filled the people of England with burning indignation, and perhaps, contributed more than any other events, to advance the cause of freedom. The walls of parliament resounded with the eloquence of Mackintosh and Brougham, and the noble sentiments uttered by those noble men met with a response in the breasts of all classes, from the cottage to the throne, nor were the ministry of the day apathetic. In a dispatch to the Earl of Belmore, Governor of Jamaica, Viscount Goderich thus speaks of the West Indian revolt: 'Amongst those who acknowledge the divine authority of our national faith, there is no room for controversy respecting the duty of imparting the knowledge of christianity to all mankind, and especially to our more immediate dependents. However, the modes or seasons of instruction may be regulated according to the various circumstances of different classes of society, nothing can justify the systematically withholding from any man, or class of men, a revelation given for the common benefit of all. I could not therefore acknowledge that the slaves of Jamaica could be permitted to live and die amidst the darkness of heathen idolatry, whatever effect the advancing light of christianity might ultimately have upon the relation of master and slave; nor am I anxious to conceal my opinion, that a change in this relation is the natural tendency, and must be the ultimate result of the diffusion of religious knowledge amongst them. For although the great moral virtues of contentment, and universal benevolence may be expected to appear amongst a christian slave population, as the legitimate fruit of christian principle, yet all probability justifies the belief, and all experience attests the fact, that the increased range of thought, the new habits of reflection, and the more lively preception of the duties owing by their fellow-christians to themselves, to which the converted slaves will attain, will gradually produce in their minds new feelings respecting their servile condition.

'It is not, however, merely to a misconception of religious truth, but to the direct instigation of some of the Missionaries, that the recent insurrection is ascribed in some of the documents which your lordship has transmitted. I have observed with great satisfaction, the efforts which you so judiciously made to guard the persons to whom it would belong to sit in judgment

‘on the Missionaries, against the influence of religious prejudices; and I trust that the caution which you have given, will effectually prevent the manifestation of any intemperate or hostile spirit towards them in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. I most distinctly avow my conviction that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief in it. The Missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies cannot, with charity, or in justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill-requited service: they are well apprised that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and the path they have chosen leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If, in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprise, or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must, in general, be that which is professed, since, in general, there is no other advantage to be obtained than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of christianity throughout the world. When, therefore, I consider that no motive can be rationally assigned, which should have induced the Missionaries to embark in so guilty and desperate an undertaking, I cannot but earnestly trust, that the trial of any of their number, who may be charged with a participation in this rebellion, may have been postponed until comparative tranquillity should have succeeded to the first panic, and that such trials may have been conducted, not before a military tribunal, but with all the regular forms of law. Should any such Missionary have been convicted, and be awaiting the execution of his sentence on the arrival of this dispatch, your lordship will not permit that sentence to be carried into effect, till his Majesty’s pleasure can be known.’*

This digression the reader will think, has occupied too much of his time, but we could not acquiesce in the justness of the stigma cast on the memory of the pious and heroic dead, and felt it to be our duty to place the matter before the Indian public in its true light. We do not for a moment believe that the counsel, to whom we have adverted, is capable of designedly injuring the reputation of his fellow men, and doubt not he will regret as much as ourselves the sentiment to which, in the heat

* The dispatch from which the above passages are quoted, is dated the 1st of March 1832. The whole document was published in the Jamaica Courant, on the 13th of May, and in the London Times on the 22nd of June.

of argument, he gave expression. Without further observations we leave the facts to speak for themselves, feeling assured that the martyr of Demerara and his devoted colleagues will be remembered with affection and reverence when those who vituperated and maligned them are all forgotten.

We shall now proceed with our notice of the Nil Darpan trial. The counsel for the defence accomplished all that could be done for his client, and did well whatever he attempted. Though he lost the case, an event which he doubtless foresaw from the beginning, in conducting it he lost nothing of self-respect, the advocate and the gentleman kept together, and not a word fell from his lips which the audience wished recalled. The presiding judge exhibited a sound and comprehensive knowledge of the law, and his charge to the jury embodied all the qualities becoming such addresses, except that of calmness. The want of this made him appear in one part of the charge more like the pleader than the judge; but there was no palliation of vice, no perversion of law, nothing to undermine the foundations of liberty, or that could injuriously affect the real welfare of any class of society, native or European; there was warm sympathy for English ladies who had been grossly libelled, a fearless condemnation of the Government of Bengal, that, instead of suppressing, had propagated slanders, and a stern rebuke to a minister of the gospel, who had written a preface to an obscene publication, and helped to spread it abroad. In this departure from established usage the mind of Sir Mor-daunt was not ignobly stirred; in the irregularity there was something of greatness, and the sentiments of the man went far to excuse the absence of the judge.

The defendant was adjudged to be imprisoned for a month and to pay a fine of a thousand rupees, and no solicitation was made to mitigate the sentence. As the chief object of instituting the suit was to reach a greater culprit, it would have been the dictate of wisdom, to say nothing of mercy, to have treated him with the dignified forbearance shown to the printer; but when we remember the wrongs the prosecutors had borne, though we lament, we are not surprised that the law was permitted to take its course, and that no attempt was made to lessen the punishment so as to divest it of all appearance of a harsh and vindictive spirit.

In strict accordance with the law the court pronounced Mr. Long guilty, but was he morally wrong, is a question which may be raised and is one worthy of calm consideration. To form a sound judgment respecting this question it will be necessary briefly to notice the part he has taken in the discussion

about indigo planting. The indigo controversy originated from some statements made in the minutes of the Calcutta Missionary Conference which assembled in the month of September 1855, and consisted of fifty-one clergymen and four laymen. The Rev. C. Kruckeberg stated, that the Ryots expressed a hope that the Santals, who had lately revolted and revelled in blood, would come and help them to throw off the yoke of the planters.* The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert said he never heard of more than one thoroughly Christian man remaining in the planting business, and he was ruined.† At a subsequent period, he endeavoured to palliate this unguarded language, but in the opinion of most people made the matter worse. He said 'Stronger things than he (the missionary) has yet had to comment on, are said by laymen, 'practically acquainted with the subject. A friend of mind has 'often quoted to me the remark of a gentleman, not undistinguished in the public and the literary world of India, who was 'for many years engaged in indigo affairs, and whose name, were 'I at liberty to mention it, would carry weight with most persons. "That every chest of indigo that comes into the market 'is stained with human blood." This, I must own, is stronger 'language than I can use from my own knowledge of the matter.‡ The Rev. F. Schurr says: 'If the planter enjoys the 'friendship of the civil servants, he can oppress, imprison, and 'ill treat the Ryots with impunity. By some planters' orders, 'villages have been plundered and burned, and individuals killed,' and in another part of his paper he speaks of the bad example of the planters, 'their incontinence, their severity, and brutality.'§ The Rev. James Long was present at the conference, but from the record of the proceedings it does not appear that he then made any remarks respecting the planters unbecoming the spirit and character of a Christian minister. About five years after the missionary gathering, the following letter, reflecting on the daily press, the Magistrates, and the planters, appeared in one of the Metropolitan journals. The writer sent his name to the editor, and that gentleman revealed it to the public, apparently being provoked to do so by attacks on his character. He says, 'Mr. Long complains,' in his statement of his connection with the Nil Darpan 'of the violent and acrimonious editorials and letters 'of what he calls the Indigo papers. A specimen of Mr. Long's 'own style will show what right he has to complain of virulence

* Calcutta Christian Observer, November 1855, p. 529.

† Ibid November 1855 p. 530.

‡ Ibid June 1856, p. 267,

§ Ibid November, 1855, pp 507, 511.

'and bitterness. See his letter, signed a Missionary, in the Hurkaru of the 5th of April, 1860.* This is the communication to which reference is made.

A MISSIONARY AND THE PLANTERS,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'BENGAL HURKARU.'

SIR,—The Daily Press here, being all on the side of the Indigo-planting interests, announce that peace and order are prevailing now in the Indigo Districts, with few exceptions. I have information of a different kind however, and from trustworthy sources—it is a peace procured by the dungeon and the stocks—by Magistrates pandering to the interests of Planters. The Magistrate gets good cheer in the Planter's house; of course he is not ungrateful enough to give a decision in favor of the ryot, which, besides, would bring on him the abuse of the Calcutta Press. The unjust deeds of certain Magistrates are noted, and in due time will come to light.

A "reign of terror" exists in certain districts—factory godowns had they ears, could tell sad accounts of the sufferings of ryots. Yes sir, certain Planters can make use of Black Holes as well as Saraja Dowla did, while the violation of their daughters will teach ryots how they complain of the Indigo sahib.

You may say, Sir, oh, the Commission will investigate this—the reign of terror Sir, the stocks and the black holes are rapidly drilling ryots never at any time possessed of courage, *into silence. A ryot's life will soon not be safe, who bears testimony against the Planter.* As for the Commission, the well applied bribes and the black hole will make the ryot testify to any thing the Planter wishes, and the Commission will fail in eliciting truth.


Let me ask you, is an Austrian policy to be carried out in this country—we have already the beginning of it, and Mr. Wilson may yet be the Radetzky of India—he is well intentioned, but he is allowing himself to drift on with the Calcutta current.

I am sorry to write this, Sir, of the doings of certain men, but it is the system which is at fault—the system of forced advances and fictitious arrears,—the system which pauperises the ryots of a whole district to prop up a serfdom.

I trust that in your paper you will allow the principle of *audi alteram partem*.

Yours, &c.,
A MISSIONARY.

Bengal Hurkaru, 28th June, 1861.

 We admit with sorrow the above letter, written by an English Missionary who has not been ashamed to give us his name. We pity him if he

On the 12th of June 1860 Mr. Long appeared before the Commission of Inquiry into Indigo Planting, and the evidence he gave fills nine quarto pages. It contains many statements important in themselves, but few that bear directly on the great business of the Court. It is very discursive, most portions of the testimony which relate to the Indigo enterprize are described to be the expression of native thought and feeling, and whether he sympathized with them, or not the reader is left to conjecture; but now and then his own opinions are announced, and though nearly always hostile to British settlers, they are not characterized by extravagance. When asked if he believed the statements of the ryots as to outrages on women, he replied, 'I felt we had to inquire about a system and we might have a good man working a bad system, and a bad man working a good system. For instance, if it could be shown that in a certain district there were four or five Missionaries guilty of immoral practices, this would not prove that the missionary system was bad, and so with alleged immoral practices of planters as bearing on the planting system. I, of course, can have no personal knowledge of this, any more than I can have of many vices in society whether European or native, which are deeds of darkness, and done in darkness.*' When asked if he gave the tale which he had circulated as an individual instance of a general practice among planters, and if he believed that instance to be true, he answered. 'Not as an individual instance of a general practice, though I have been acquainted of late years with various facts relating to outrages. I am glad to acknowledge, however, that there is a great improvement in the morals of Indigo Planters. That such things should be of occasional occurrence in a certain state of society is not surprising; from the respectability and integrity of my informants, I find it morally impossible to disbelieve it; I have no inclination to blacken the characters of my countrymen.†

believes these falsehoods; we pity him more if he disbelieves them and yet publishes them. What we wish to point out is, that the Missionary, and we are afraid the Government, *do not really wish the Commission to enquire into the "system," to be appointed.* The cry now is bribes, murder, arson, rape will keep the ryot silent. A MISSIONARY knows that this is false, for he himself has been, within the last week, visited by a number of ryots who came to Calcutta, no man hindering them, to complain. No—unless planters insist upon it, there will be no commission, and firebrands and falsehood mongers like A MISSIONARY will still continue to have the power of working infinite harm—ED. HUME.

* Indigo Commission p. 161 Question 1663.

† Indigo Commission p. 161 Question 1664.

About the period he gave evidence before the Indigo Commission, Mr. Long was chairman at the annual meeting of the Family Library Club, and made a speech in which he was understood to have exhorted the natives present, all educated young men, to begin something like a crusade against the Anglo-Saxon race, as a special duty which Providence imposed on them in behalf of the indigent classes. This speech was published in the report of the institution, and elicited some animadversions in the newspapers. Mr. Long gave an explanation, in which he stated that he had no thought of inciting a war against European settlers; and after this every body was disposed to pass over the matter as one of those effusions which say little for the wisdom of the head, yet leave the heart in the right place; such effusions had previously been given to the world both by the clergy and the laity, and very unreasonable would be the person that should expect from the lips of chairmen and platform speakers, nothing but the words of a sage.*

But to revert to the Nil Darpan, Mr. Seton Karr observes. 'About the month of October or November last, the Reverend Mr. Long brought to my notice the existence of this drama in the original Bengali, and a native hawkers who was commissioned by the Native author to sell the book, brought me a copy, which I purchased. Until that time I had never heard of the work.†

'I mentioned the work to the Lieutenant Governor, in the belief that it was my duty to bring to his notice all native publications illustrative of popular feeling. The Lieutenant Governor, as well as other persons, expressed a desire to see a translation of this Drama, and Mr. Long informed me that a native was willing to translate it. A translation was accordingly made under my sanction.'

'I think I am correct in stating that up to this point all I had done was also with the knowledge and sanction of the Lieutenant Governor. He approved of my noticing the work, and of the act of translation, and of the printing, but he never intended that so large a number as 500 copies should be struck off. I believe that he contemplated that a small number of copies should be printed, to be dealt with as he might think fit.'

'When the work of translation and printing was completed, the copies were brought to my Office, and Mr. Long gave me the names of several persons to whom he was desirous that the work should be sent; other names were also added by me to the

* For the strictures on the above speech of Mr. Long, see the *Calcutta Englishman* 13 July, 1860.

† Mr. Seton Karr's statement with regard to the Nil Darpan.

‘list, and I must here distinctly repeat, what I have avowed already, that the circulation under the official frank took place with my sanction and knowledge, and without that of the Lieutenant Governor.’*

Mr. Long superintended the translation of the Nil Darpan into English, the proof sheets passed through his hands, and were returned to the press, all the corrections being in his handwriting, from which it may be fairly inferred he was thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the book, the obnoxious passages could not have escaped his notice, and by stating in his preface ‘the language is plain but true’ he adopted the whole as an expression of his own opinions.

As the planters could not be humbled to the dust alone, the dramatist involved editors, magistrates and English ladies in their humiliation, and represented European society in the rural counties as one mass of corruption more destructive than the plague. It is possible individual Europeans may have been as wicked as they are described in the play, but the author declares, that the persons whose portraits he draws are types of a class, and not exceptional characters.

This literary weapon being of a terrible nature was seized and wielded against British settlers. The laws of honour for the moment were dropped. Had they been observed, the parties concerned would have been apprized of the blow to be struck; but stratagem, though banished from circles in which gentlemen move, is yet practised in war. To keep the enemy ignorant of his danger, to attack and rout him in the dark are achievements which generals covet; and if, inspired with military ardour, the Nil Darpan men adopted the policy of the camp, it was doubtless to accomplish a greater amount of good than they could otherwise have effected. Of this we are assured by the best authority, their own words; but notwithstanding these assurances we think the course they pursued highly culpable; justice, religion and humanity condemn it. To libel a large community of English ladies and gentlemen, hold them up to the reproach of the whole people of England, and keep them in ignorance while the deed was done, was as Lord Canning rightly designates it ‘a great public scandal.’ The minute of the Viceroy on this painful subject does honour to the name he bears, it breathes something of the spirit of his illustrious father. Arguments have been advanced to justify or palliate this great enormity, but they are too weak to impose on the understanding of a child. It is said

* Letter of Mr. Seton Karr, 29 July 1861, to E. H. Lushington Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

a celebrated dramatist attacked French physicians, but he avowed the piece,* advertised it in the usual way, and all the doctors of Paris went to see the play and enjoyed it more than other persons. The men ridiculed were admitted to be exceptional characters, quacks and scoundrels, and Moliere not only afforded amusement to his countrymen, but was considered by the physicians themselves to have done excellent service to the medical profession. But the cruel, corrupt, and shameless Europeans in the Nil Darpan are declared to be types of a class and not exceptional characters. The Bengali dramatist, or rather we should say the gentlemen connected with the English translation, did not follow the example of the Frenchman. They did not publicly acknowledge the work, it was not advertised in the newspapers, the planters were not invited to the play, nor was it acted in Calcutta; it was sent many thousand miles to be exhibited in the metropolis, and in the provincial cities and towns of Great Britain; and strange to say it was contemplated to improve the lives of European settlers not by warning and instructing them, but by concealing their sins from them, while revealing them to other persons. If this did not show a want of benevolence and charity it at least evinced a great deficiency of wisdom, and it may be doubted if a similar instance of reforming mankind can be adduced from any period in history since the foundation of the world. It is also affirmed that the Nil Darpan, like other Bengali books, was translated into English to be submitted to the authorities here, to make them acquainted with the expression of native thought and feeling on a subject of great importance respecting which there had been much discussion; yet the pamphlet was not sent to the Governor General, to the Government of India, to the members of council, to the commissioners, judges or magistrates, the circulation in this country was only fourteen copies, and most of these were called in or destroyed; while the number sent to England, where there was no pressing necessity for the publication, and where its contents, if true, could be productive of no beneficial results, was about two hundred and eighty-six, addressed to gentlemen believed to possess great influence, some of whom were known to be hostile to the planters. From this every person will draw the same conclusion that an object which required for its accomplishment such secrecy and a path so circuitous was very unlikely to be a good one. It may be said that such books as the Nil Darpan act as an antidote to vice by exhibiting it in its most repulsive form, and thus give to the morals of society a healthy tone. This

method has antiquity to recommend it. The ancients made their slaves drunk in the presence of their children to deter them from contracting the habit of intoxication, forgetting it might have a contrary effect, and give them a taste for wine. To do evil that good may come is a notion prevalent at Rome, but finds no sanction in the sacred page. Religion is light, and in this element her sons live, reflecting in their works the glory of God, being herself beautiful and bright and pure, to her belongs the ministry of righteousness and truth, and on her lips are words of good will to men; but craft, mystery and deceit she leaves to the children of the world who 'love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.' A ruler of forty millions of people, and while the provinces over which he presides were in a state of anarchy, stooped from the dignity of his office as never ruler stooped before him, so that the exercise of confidence in his administration by European settlers has become an impossibility. With favourable opportunities for rendering eminent services to the Crown and earning for himself a great name he has thrown Bengal back more than quarter of a century, where land and labour can be procured to any extent, requiring only English capital and enterprise to make them highly remunerative, he has caused a loss of a million and a half sterling; and if he carry out his policy with vigour he may have the satisfaction of beholding the Indigo districts in the Delta of the Ganges, which is the most fertile portion of the empire, a complete desert, and of receiving at the close of his career, as a reward for his toil, the thanks of those natives happily but few in number, who are disaffected to the British Raj, who hate his countrymen, and wish for their expulsion from India. As two of the Nil Darpan men earnestly solicited the Legislature to frame a statute to punish the publishers of immoral writings, their being guilty of a breach of this law is declared to be a very improbable event. There is sometimes a wide space between doctrine and practice. Bacon was a great philosopher, yet he had the infirmities of a man. The President of the Commission of Inquiry into Indigo-planting, penned these memorable words. 'There are considerations which are paramount to mercantile interests and political expediency, and to all material advantage—the simple consideration of justice and truth.' This sentence would do honour to a Grecian sage, yet the author of it fell, and had the humiliation to acknowledge that he had read and sanctioned, the translating, the printing, and circulation of one of the foulest books in the world, written to traduce English ladies and gentlemen who are exiles in this

distant land To defend this clandestine proceeding is to add insult to injury.

For his share in this mournful 'business Mr. Seton Karr has made an ample apology; the Lieutenant Governor has assured the world of his regret, but in a way so cold and languid that we should suppose, did we not know the contrary, it was not so much for the sin itself as for its being found out; Mr. Long in a becoming manner has expressed his sorrow for the pain he has given, and twenty years of devoted labour in education, literature, and the Christian ministry will not be effaced from the memory of his countrymen by one deplorable act.

The German missionaries who have taken a distinguished part in the Indigo question, have been subjected to much animadversion tending to lower them in the estimation of the public, but all who have the honour of their acquaintance, know them to be equal in learning, in laborious discharge of duty and in sanctity of life to any body of English or Scotch clergy. As founders of missions and promoters of science and civilization, some of their countrymen have earned in India great names. That the land which was the cradle of the Reformation and gave birth to men who bearded the insolence of Rome, rescued nations from her thralldom, and changed the face of the world, has become a Nazareth from which no good can emanate is a declaration that will cause every intelligent person to smile. Suppose, however, the missionaries of the county of Nuddea passed their infancy and youth in the condition which the newspapers graphically describe, and before visiting the East lived on sauerkraut, which by the bye, is relished by kings and cottagers alike, this would in no way contribute to a refutation of their statements about Indigo planting, these must be examined on the spot, and no reference need be made to genealogical tables deposited in archives on the other side of the globe; moreover prying into the pedigree of Sahibs, whether in or out of the services, has been prohibited in this country from time immemorial, and to ask a person what his grandfather was, is breach of good manners; we are all well born, may use armorial bearings, and place the founder of our family in any period in the annals of the world, after or before the deluge, and as off these delicate themes etiquette enjoins silence, awkward questions and revelations are avoided. Without gratifying our curiosity by enquiring into the lineage of the missionaries of Nuddea and ascertaining the exact position which their ancestors held among their contemporaries, we shall notice the degree of importance which is to be assigned to their statements in forming a right

opinion of British settlers. Believing indigo cultivation to be inimical to the welfare of the peasantry, and like other evils, an obstacle to Christianity, to the diffusion of which they have devoted their lives, they employed all their influence to root it out of the land. While we respect their motives, we are disposed to think their zeal carried them beyond the limits of prudence, and was productive of results which they never contemplated. It was befitting clergymen to speak of the oppression, extortion and cruelty that came under their notice; and to contend that they were acting out of character in doing so, though a cry often raised and one which meets with much approval from a certain class of persons, is scarcely worthy of a moment's consideration. It did not frighten the ministers of ancient times. Whoever reads the writings of the prophets will find their denunciations of iniquity comprehended every breach of the decalogue and spared no rank of transgressors; the members of the college of Galilee had the courage to rebuke sin, no doubt some of their contemporaries thought it very unclerical, and called them insane, pestilent and seditious fellows bent on turning the world upside down, but undeterred by clamour and unelated by applause they changed not their doctrine or became more supple in their manners. The Christian ministers of the country of Nuddea are to be blamed not for following, but for deviating from apostolic practice, they exhibited a want of discrimination and judgment, a fault with which the sacred penmen can never be charged. The condemnatory language in which they spoke of the planters was understood to embrace almost the whole body so that for the crimes of individuals nearly all the members of a large community were brought into contempt. Strongly biassed against Indigo cultivation they were not careful to weigh their words and actions, but this neglect of prudence did not lessen the pain and injury inflicted, it rather augmented them, nor could it be accepted as an adequate apology by the aggrieved parties. In the course which they took we believe they were influenced by the best motives, and the sole object they had in view was to promote the well-being of the industrious poor; for we think it quite possible for conscientious men to entertain widely different opinions about the planting enterprize, and should wonder if on such a difficult and complicated question complete unanimity prevailed. The real interests of the Native and European, we conceive to be identical, and were this view of them generally taken and made the basis of action, the country would prosper. Let each be supported by the law in the free exercise of his legitimate rights, that on the one hand no force be used to make the

ryots cultivate any crop, and on the other that they be not allowed to violate with impunity their pecuniary obligations, then we should have a respected Government, thriving colonists, and a well conditioned peasantry ; but let the constituted authorities, ignorant of the first principles of trade and commerce, represent these interests as conflicting, and do all in their power to set race against race, then the bankruptcy of capitalists, the ruin of farmers, misery and anarchy, will, as at present, be the results, and the administration of Bengal continue to be a by-word among our countrymen at home, and be pointed at in all parts of the world as the most insane of Governments.

We do not consider the planters to be either angels or fiends. They possess, with but little difference as to number or degree, the virtues and vices which are seen in other communities. There may be individuals among them with many characteristics of the Evil One, and who are always out of their element except when doing the work of their infernal Master ; but this may be truly affirmed of every other section of society. The exchange, the pulpit, the bar, and the bench are now and then dishonoured ; still we believe the body of merchants, of ministers, lawyers and judges to be true and faithful men, and that deliberate villany and sanctimonious hypocrisy are rare and not common crimes. If the same discrimination and charity be exercised in forming a judgment of the planters, and they be compared with an equal number of other Europeans, in or out of the services, they will not suffer in the comparison. Taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, and their provocations and wrongs, the corruptions of the courts, the inefficiency of the police, the character of the people who repudiate the execution of contracts and the payment of rents, the insecurity of property, the opportunity and temptation to take the law into their own hands, every person, who is well acquainted with the country, will be astonished at the amount of good which has been done and at the little evil which has accompanied it. That they had done more to promote the material prosperity of India, than any other body of Europeans was the opinion of Lord Bentinck and Lord Metcalfe, and these were no ordinary statesmen. Many evils do prevail, but most of them must be attributed to the Government, for under a wise and energetic administration they could not exist. Crime is found to pay, for the chances against detection and punishment are a thousand to one. Forgers and perjurers drive a flourishing trade, and the business is regularly transmitted from father to son. If the Government be in real earnest about the welfare of the country, and the

honour of the British name, let it at once use all its power to suppress these and similar crimes, which gnaw at the vitals of the state, then the people will learn, what long experience has taught the nations of Europe, that 'honesty is the best policy.'

Under a wise, energetic and humane Government, the natives would be a prosperous and well conducted people, and when recipients of a sound education and a pure faith, they will make India one of the finest portions of Christendom. We love them, but we hope too wisely, to encourage them in wrong doing. Seizing other persons' lands, breaking business engagements and refusing to pay rent must in the end lead both them and the country to irretrievable ruin. Capital and European knowledge are required to develop the resources of the empire; but if things continue much longer in their present state, both money and skill will take their departure for other climes.

The 'Bengal Hurkaru' and the Calcutta 'Englishman,' the journals which are maligned in the Nil Darpan, have faced many storms; in fair and foul weather they have pleaded the cause of liberty; in times when it was dangerous for a man to say his soul was his own, they have staked all on an honest expression of their opinions. Their views of politics, of trade, of developing the resources of the country, and of the interests of natives and Europeans, have generally been correct and been stated with ability and candour. If now and then they have used reprehensible language, let it be remembered they cannot follow the counsel of the Roman poet, who advises authors to keep their works by them for years before giving them to the world; editors of daily papers must send their manuscripts to the printer when the ink on them is scarcely dry; and if a few warm words be penned in the glow of composition, on the morrow, though they cannot recall, perhaps they are the first to regret them. On a careful examination it will be found they transgress the laws of propriety as seldom as the leading journals in Europe. But on this subject is there not an unhealthy sentiment abroad, which in the fulness of its strength is one of the precursors of the fall of states? It is thought that both weak and wicked rulers, should be addressed in the soft language of the nursery; but persons in high places who abuse their trust, if they will not reform must be exposed to public censure, and though the infliction may produce no moral change in the chastised, it may save the nation, by driving them into private life, and bringing into office men of wisdom and virtue. Being a human institution, the press is not an unmixt good, but the evils which attend it are few, compared with the blessings that

come in its train; it is every where a powerful auxiliary to the proper administration of public affairs, and one of the strongest bulwarks of the rights of the people.

APPENDIX.

The following table, which refers to the loss sustained in one season only, gives a pretty correct idea of the situation of the planters, and pre-shadows the apparently inevitable ruin which is coming upon them. Though the block of the respective concerns is valued at the sum it would command in ordinary times; many indigo factories, in the building and establishing of which thirty thousand pounds were expended, if now offered as a gift would not be worth accepting, the policy of the Government of Bengal has so much depreciated property, and rendered it every where so insecure.

NAMES OF CONCERNS.	Loss in Season 1860-61.	Value of the Block in Feb. 1860.	NAMES OF CONCERNS.	Loss in Season 1860-61.	Value of the Block in Feb. 1860.
Ackrigunge ..	80,000 0	0 150,000 0	Salgaemoodea.	80,000 0	0 250,000 0
Dhamoodea ...	30,000 0	0 75,000 0	Heezeleebut ...	40,000 0	0 100,000 0
Comedpore ...	40,000 0	0 100,000 0	Doveracole. ...	40,000 0	0 150,000 0
Meerpore ...	30,000 0	0 100,000 0	Manjepparah...	15,000 0	0 40,000 0
Bamundie ...	50,000 0	0 200,000 0	Coasimpore ..	75,000 0	0 150,000 0
Kateelie ...	20,000 0	0 150,000 0	Packydangah ..	10,000 0	0 50,000 0
Nundunpore ...	15,000 0	0 50,000 0	Meergunge ...	50,000 0	0 600,000 0
Sonada ...	10,000 0	0 30,000 0	Muddendaree ...	40,000 0	0 100,000 0
Hurrah ...	10,000 0	0 50,000 0	Nosibshye ...	50,000 0	0 300,000 0
Mulnath ...	70,000 0	0 600,000 0	Nowhatta } Chowlea }	50,000 0	0 300,000 0
Khal Boleo ..	40,000 0	0 550,000 0	Porahatty } Hazrapore }	60,000 0	0 250,000 0
Katgurrah. ...	80,000 0	0 150,000 0	Jengergatcha ...	10,000 0	0 50,000 0
Patkabarree. ...	50,000 0	0 150,000 0	Baboo Kalee ...	40,000 0	0 100,000 0
Loknathpore. ...	40,000 0	0 300,000 0	Ramnaghur ..	10,000 0	0 100,000 0
Sondooree. ...	40,000 0	0 200,000 0	Sericole ..	40,000 0	0 150,000 0
Bejoolce ...	30,000 0	0 100,000 0	Barraset ...	12,000 0	0 75,000 0
Nischindypore	80,000 0	0 400,000 0	Shikarpore } Concerns } Robert } Watson } & Co. }	300,000 0	0 2,500,000 0
Bansharreeah. ...	40,000 0	0 200,000 0			
Carragodah ..	10,000 0	0 100,000 0			
Catcheckatta ...	50,000 0	0 200,000 0			
Joradah ...	40,000 0	0 200,000 0			

ART. VII.—*Note by the Commissioner charged by Government to revise Civil Appointments and Salaries.*

2.—*Memorial of the Uncovenanted Service for the amelioration of their Official condition.*

NO ordinary amount of observation suggested the remark, 'with how little wisdom the world is governed!' But, if by wisdom we are to understand the forethought, judgment and sagacity of man, and if in the idea of government we are to recognize the direct application of specific means to definite ends, means adapted and adequate to attain those pre-arranged ends and no other; we may go further and declare that such wisdom and such government have no existence. Results frequently surpass and astonish the most sanguine expectations, and from small beginnings, meant to be circumscribed and limited in their operations, gigantic institutions have been reared, of which the founders could have had no conception in their wildest dreams. Without alluding to a higher principle, we may account for such progress by referring to the law of gradual development which seems to be inherent in all things around us. Circumstances vary and demand to be accommodated, errors and defects suggest their own remedy, and so this inherent law of development produces gradually the most astounding results in spite of man's 'little wisdom' and often contrary to his plans and wishes.

These remarks are exemplified in the origin, rise, and present condition, of that branch of the Indian administration, known as the Covenanted Civil Service.

A number of 'fine old English gentlemen, all of the olden time,' actuated by a spirit of enterprize and the hope of gain, formed themselves into a company of merchants, with the view of opening up the Trade of the East Indies. Their first idea was to convey the produce and manufactures of England to India, and receive back similar supplies from the East. They had no resting place in these territories, not an acre of land that they could claim. But very soon it became necessary to make good a position on shore for the systematic conduct of their commerce, and accordingly coast factories were established. The servants of the Company were sent out with authority and

credentials to conduct their business, subject to certain rules of discipline, and thus was formed the nucleus of what afterwards became a powerful body, and an institution of the Government.

The earlier history of the service is not without interest. Grades of rank were established with a scale of salaries which were merely nominal. At Madras about the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a President with a salary of 200*l.* per annum, six Councillors at 100*l.* each, six Senior Merchants at 40*l.* each, two Junior Merchants at 30*l.*, five Factors with 15*l.* each and ten writers at 5*l.* each per annum. The Servants of the Company were, however, permitted to trade, which, in many cases, more than compensated for the very trifling amount they received in the form of direct remuneration; and it actually required two centuries to convince the Company, of the obvious impolicy of this system.

But John Company was neither wise or far seeing. Present economy was his first consideration, and so long as large investments came across the sea, he cared little for what was lost to him by internal commerce, or how much he suffered by the energies of his servants being divided between their personal interests and those of their employers.

The social condition of the service at this period was peculiar, and demands some attention. Being the only Europeans then in India, they naturally kept together, and the instructions from home, suggested by motives of economy, encouraged this state of things. They were ordered to live together, and not distribute themselves 'up and down in the town.' They were to dine together, in order that the younger servants might be under the check of their superiors, and be thus restrained from excesses. Paternal John always evinced a most tender care for the morals, and conduct of his younger servants, relying no doubt on the correctness of the principle, that the child was father of the man. The instructions from the company were, however, not strictly carried out by their distant servants; for, at this general table, 'the dishes, plates and drinking cups were of massive and pure silver,' and we may be sure the other appointments of the table were upon the same extravagant scale. We find also that a band of music attended the President at dinner, and that there was a flourish of trumpets to announce his arrival. But though these servants lived much together in the same buildings and forts, and dined together, they seem not to have presented the appearance of a very 'happy family.' Fierce contentions rose up among them, and, following the example of the times, frequent appeals were had to the duello. But worse still, the President controlled his

counsellors with the aid of a staff, which he appears to have used with considerable freedom, either to enforce his arguments, or perhaps to maintain discipline. One unfortunate refractory member of the Council complained that the President had inflicted on him 'two cuts on the head, the one very long and deep, the other a slight one in comparison to that; then a blow on the left arm, which has inflamed the shoulder and deprived me of the use of that limb; on the right side a blow on the ribs, which is a stoppage to my breath and makes me incapable of helping myself; on my left hip another nothing inferior to the first, but above all a cut on the brow of my eye.' This staff might also have been used, with salutary effect, in the correction of the unsteady and irregular lives and conduct of the Company's Servants of those times; for we find, the excesses of the night were betrayed by the shaky handwriting of the morning, and that gambling, and a disregard of all wholesome restraints were freely adronished by their paternal masters, who did not think it beneath their dignity to inquire into the details of the domestic arrangements of their servants, and pass imperial edicts as to the number of horses a president or a writer should keep in his stables, or drive in his conveyance, or to make the penalty of a violation of these orders dismissal from the Service.

The first great change from this abnormal condition of the Service, was caused by the conquest of Bengal. The acquisition of territory naturally transformed these merchants and tradesmen into administrators and diplomatists; but, nevertheless, the condition of the Service continued much the same as before. Pitifully small salaries were still the rule, and it cannot be a matter of surprise, that those who engaged freely in private trade to remunerate themselves, should now use the large powers, of which they suddenly found themselves possessed, for their self-aggrandizement. Lord Clive's mission of reform to India, and the efforts of Warren Hastings, the first Governor General, seconded by the Act of Parliament, which ordained that no servant of the Crown or Company should accept presents from the Princes or other inhabitants of India, tended much to restrain the cupidity of the Company's Servants, though, of course, they greatly reduced the advantages of the service, restricting the gains, with the exception of the miserable pittance in the shape of salary then allowed, to private trade. Lord Cornwallis saw clearly the anomaly of this state of things, and strove to prohibit private trade; but honest, careful, conservative John could not see the policy of spending a few more pence to gain ever so many more pounds, and halted

and vacillated till the Ministry came to his aid, and, impressed with the Indian Governor General's representations, introduced a clause in Charter Act of 1793, prohibiting the Company's Servants engaging in private trade. To raise the salaries of their Servants to such an amount as should be worthy of their high position, a fair remuneration for their important services, and a suitable compensation for the sacrifice of home and the pains of exile, soon became a necessity ; and the service from that time assumed a shape and aspect which it has retained to the present day.

The commencement of the nineteenth century saw the Company still a trading body, but their character as rulers in India grew and strengthened in spite of themselves. They would fain have gone on trading in their own quiet way if they could, but imperious circumstances would not permit that, and against their will they became a great and formidable Governing Power recognized by the whole civilized world. The change necessitated a far higher order of qualification than was formerly demanded of the Company's servants, and Lord Wellesley, who was then Governor General of India, projected a College on a large scale, in order that 'the writers, on their first arrival, should be subjected for a period of two or three years to the rules and discipline of some Collegiate Institution, at the seat of Government.' Anticipating the sanction of the Court of Directors to the proposal, and fully persuaded of the advisability, nay, necessity of the measure, he at once opened the College of Fort William, which was to expand into the proportions which he had sketched for his grand project, so soon as the sanction of the Court was received. This sanction was refused; the grand scheme was laid aside; but our readers are aware that the Colleges of Fort William, Madras and Bombay, with all their important advantages, have continued till now. They continued even after a College, for the purposes contemplated by Lord Wellesley, was established in England, and served to justify his opinion, that a short training for the young writers in an educational institution, among the people with whom in public life they would have to deal, was most desirable. But the College at Haileybury was an admirable institution, and fully answered the high and practical ends for which it was established. It sent out into the world of official and political life in India, many names which add a lustre to the pages of Indian history, and we gladly accept, in its full breadth of meaning, the opinion of a writer of the day, who says, 'An abler or more honorable body of public servants has never been engaged in the administration of any country

'in the world, than those who graduated at Haileybury and passed College at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.' Nor was the association at College without its advantages. Friendships formed at home in youth were matured in a distant land; a laudable emulation which may have sprung up at college, was carried with its beneficial influences, into a different sphere; characters and tastes, which were slowly forming in early association with others, grew and strengthened and became confirmed under the same individual influences in after life; and so the literary tastes acquired by the graduates of Haileybury, were indulged in at a distance from *alma mater*, much to the credit of the institution. But better than all, there was created under this system an *esprit de corps*, a tacit compact and understanding among its members, which impelled them to act together to maintain the character, honor and efficiency of their exclusive service. It is quite true that, whilst Haileybury flourished, there was little change in the family names of its graduates and of the Civil list; but what of that? the efficiency of the public service was not in any way impaired by this circumstance. On the contrary, the bright examples of fathers and uncles must have stimulated the younger representatives of the name, to be their worthy and successful imitators.

But that together with these benefits there were many serious disadvantages, both in a social and official point of view, cannot be denied. The spurious aristocracy it raised in a community whose class divisions have ever been a barrier to its advancement; the assumed fitness of its members for any service whatever, to which they might be appointed; the frequent changes of office, without reference to antecedents, which the rule of gradations in rank and emolument entailed, were some of the evils which disfigured one of the finest services in the world. These defects however did not undermine its stability. John Company had become unpopular; perhaps, because he was not fully understood, but one of his most serious offences was, his unlimited power and patronage. It was not to be tolerated, that so many persons, without political power or social influence, possessing no great amount of wealth, but having merely the accidental advantage of being holders of Indian Stock, should have the power to confer rank and wealth by a simple nomination to the service, which in time might raise the fortunate recipient to the Governor Generalship of British India, and to emoluments superior to any enjoyed by ministers of the Crown. The Indian reform party agitated the question in Parliament, and by the Charter Act of 1853, the

patronage of the company in the Civil and Medical services was lost to it for ever.

Whether the Competitive is an improvement upon the former system of nomination is a question which time alone can solve; the service has indeed been thrown open to all the "educated youth of the United Kingdom; but it has, nevertheless, lost nothing of its exclusiveness. The most serious defect of the Competition system, however, is, that it is based on the error of confounding learning with education. The education and special training of Haileybury were wholly overlooked, and a certain amount of learning,—of mere scholastic knowledge—was substituted for a system of preparation, which, though it may occasionally have failed, might with reason be supposed to be the "most obvious means of ensuring fitness: and when we consider that the service was after the Charter act of 1853, to be supplied from all ranks and classes of the community, and remember to what perfection cramming is carried in England, we shall not be surprised to find, that, with the College at Haileybury, the pride and prestige of the Civil Service proper has passed away.

We have seen the origin and rise of the Covenanted Civil Service of the East India Company until it reached its zenith of power and importance; we have discovered what was the first parasitical plant which grew on this stately tree, and we shall find that subsequent changes will be produced by circumstances, as imperious as those under which it sprang into being and was forced into strength and maturity.

The territory of the Company had widened over the length and breadth of the land; the demand for judicial and fiscal administration had increased with the acquisition of territory; and what with expensive wars, and, perhaps, not the most scientific management of the finances of the country, the Company had been drifting for years into a very uncomfortable state of insolvency. Parliament had already determined that a Covenanted Service was essential to the efficient administration of the Government, but the Covenanted Service was deficient in strength to meet the exigencies of the state; it became necessary, therefore, to call in auxiliary aid. The first step to this end, was to demand the help of Military men for the performance of purely civil duty. Such employment was not unacceptable to those whose prospects had hitherto been confined to army rank and promotion, and the measure suited the economical views of Government.

The consequences of the measure to the Army, do not fall within the scope of our observation. But even this means of

supplying the demand for executive control, was found inadequate, and it became necessary to look still further for additional strength. The materials were found ready prepared to hand.

This important change in the aspect of the service, came on as gradually and imperceptibly as all the rest had done. From an early period in the history of the Covenanted Service we find, that native writers, who were employed, as copyists, to relieve the Covenanted officers of the drudgery of the desk, filled the Government offices. In the course of a century we see, that the advantages of employment under Government, had attracted men of superior ability into this subordinate service: by slow degrees higher and higher duties were entrusted to this class of servants, until they found themselves by their intelligence, character and faithfulness, in positions of high and important executive control. The taunt of an arrogant member of the superior service, that the Uncovenanted Servants were mere hirelings, possessing no rights or privileges, and entitled to nothing beyond the wages which, as manual laborers, they had earned, being retained or dismissed at the pleasure of their Covenanted employers, was not without truth. But the Government, more just and honourable than their supercilious servant, recognized them as a Service, appointed them a status which their usefulness and ability had earned for them, and granted them privileges of leave of absence and pensions, which proved to be not only a fair and liberal concession to deserving men, but also had the effect of rendering this branch of the Service more valuable than it had been, of improving in no small measure its tone and character, and, consequently, its utility to the state. These effects were soon perceptible. Some of the important executive offices, which had been held and scrupulously retained for the superior service, fell one by one into the hands of these subordinate uncovenanted *employés*, till the once broad line of demarcation between the two became so faint and indistinct as to be scarcely perceptible, and several appointments were made, both at Madras and in Bengal, which those in authority who watched the interests of the more favored Service, as secured to it by law, unhesitatingly set aside. Still the demands of the country for responsible executive administration were not capable of being supplied by the exclusive Covenanted Servants, and thus it was that, with reluctance, but under the pressure of a necessity which was not to be avoided, the primary boundary lines which divided the services were removed further and further back into the territory held by the superior officers, to make way for the advancing tide of the more subordinate class of public Servants.

The appointment of an Uncovenanted officer to act as a Civil Judge in Bengal, forced the Supreme Government to pass the following orders on this point. "According to Geo. III, Cap. 16, 'all vacancies happening in any of the offices, places, or employments in the Civil line of the Covenanted service in India shall be, from time to time, filled up and supplied from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies shall respectively happen.' It might be difficult perhaps to define very precisely all the offices which are or are not included in the words 'offices, places, or employments in the Civil line of the Company's service' but it is quite certain that the office of Civil and Sessions Judge is included in them. A reasonable interpretation has always been put upon the words of the law; but if these words should now be interpreted, as not including those offices in the regular Judicial and Revenue lines of the service which have hitherto been held only by Civil Servants of the Honorable Company, the law would be annulled altogether."

This attempt to illustrate the law, and the weak and inconclusive inferential conclusion to which the expounders of the Act arrived, only showed the difficulty which beset the question, and left it as uncertain as ever. A Commissioner was appointed with the view to revise Civil salaries and appointments, and in an elaborate minute prepared by Mr. Ricketts, an attempt was made to determine precisely, what appointments should be considered as coming strictly within the meaning of the Act, and what, though once held by the Covenanted Service, should be now declared open to Uncovenanted officers; but this minute made a complicated subject still more complicated, and the suggestions it contained never received the sanction of authority.

It cannot be denied, however, that the enquiry was conducted in a liberal spirit. It was admitted, that, as the Uncovenanted Service was composed of all classes, Europeans, East Indians and Natives, fitness should be the only acknowledged claim to preference, that in defining the limits of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted rights, opportunity should be taken to enlarge the list of Uncovenanted offices, as far as might be done with justice to the claims of the Covenanted. It was contended that the fact of opening to the Uncovenanted servants, offices which had hitherto been held as the prescriptive right of the Covenanted service, would stimulate energies that were dormant from hopelessness, and raise up a large number of competitors, fully qualified for any duties with which Government might be willing to entrust them; and the effect of these suggestions was shown to be,

that the services of none but fully qualified persons would be secured, and that the resources of the country would be greatly relieved, since it was not intended to remunerate the Uncovenanted according to the standard of salary allowed to the Covenanted service. But whilst it was the intention to reduce the salary of these Covenanted appointments when held by Uncovenanted servants it was contended, not without some show of reason, that the salary of an appointment, whatever it might be, should be drawn alike by the European and Native, as either might happen to be placed in it. The correctness of this opinion seems however to be doubtful. Although it may be admitted, that, in appearance, it is invidious that the same duties and responsibilities should carry with them different salaries, a higher remuneration to an European and a lower one to a Native, yet, strictly speaking, the value of labour must be regulated by the price of the commodity in the market. If one man can sell his service at a good profit on a lower scale than another, it is difficult to understand the policy of appointing an equal allowance to both, when the consequence of such unnatural equality is over-liberality to one, and only common justice and fairness to the other. It may be difficult to adjust salaries, in exact proportion to the claims of the different classes of a heterogeneous service, but it is, nevertheless, a problem which will, no doubt, admit of some kind of solution.

The concluding paragraph of Mr. Ricketts' note, explains the practical results to which his enquiry tended. He says :—'The steps necessary in this matter,' namely the revision of civil salaries and appointments, 'are, first, the revision of the list and the transfer of every office, or class of offices which it may be considered right to reserve for the Covenanted service, to the list styled 'Exclusively Civil,' secondly, the modification of Act 33 Geo. III. Cap 16, which rules that all vacancies happening in any offices, places or employments in the Civil line of the Company's Service in India, being under the degree of Councillor, shall be from time to time filled up and supplied from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies shall respectively happen, and the enumeration of the offices which shall be exclusively filled by Covenanted Servants, and shall not be bestowed on any other class except on temporary emergencies when Covenanted officers will not be available; and thirdly, should the doctrine of payment according to race prevail, a declaration of the per centage by which the salaries now adjusted shall be decreased when an office may be bestowed on

‘ a person of European descent born in India, or an East Indian, or a Christian Native, or a Hindoo or a Mahomedan Native.’

It was not to be concealed that the Uncovenanted Service had now risen in importance, and become an element more than ever useful in the administration of the State; and at this particular juncture, steps were taken to improve and confirm their advantage. They memorialized the Home Government, with the sanction it is believed of the local authorities, with a view to a reconsideration of the regulations under which they were placed, relative to leave of absence and ultimate retirement from the Service. This was a most judicious movement, and the prayer of the petition was reasonable and moderate, and supported by arguments and representations, which those even, whose interests were antagonistic to the memorialists, were unable to impugn. The memorial embraced three leading points, and they were such as it was believed the Government would be willing to consider. *First.* That the bar be removed which, by law, (Act 33 Geo. III.) excludes Uncovenanted Servants, whatever might be their merits or special qualifications, from holding offices heretofore reserved for the Covenanted Service. *Secondly.* That the rules for leave of absence be relaxed; and *Thirdly.* That the period of service qualifying for pension should be reduced.

With respect to the first of these, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the service which gained a certain amount of consideration as mere copyists, and when the only qualification required of it was penmanship, should look for higher privileges when in the course of a century they had risen to fill offices of high trust. They were now beginning to stand side by side with the members of the Covenanted Service in the executive administration of the country, and Government had already admitted them to occupy a certain position within the limits of the disputed official territory, which by law was to be held by the Covenanted Service alone. The demand of the Government for executive officers had forced them to employ uncovenanted Agency, until the proportion of Uncovenanted to Covenanted officers in only the Judicial and Revenue lines, was found in Bengal to be as 402 to 163; in the North Western Provinces as 363 to 121; with a still greater preponderance of Uncovenanted Servants in the Punjab, and the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Memorialists did not ask for equal rights with the Covenanted Service, but only for advantages superior to those which had long ago been conceded to themselves as recognized public servants; they solicited that those of them ‘who had passed through a term of approved service in India should not solely

'by virtue of a system,' and a law, unsuited to the present age, be passed over when qualified and worthy to be promoted to offices, hitherto reserved exclusively for members of the Covenanted service. There was a fear, perhaps, that if the landmarks, which divided the Covenanted from the Uncovenanted service, were altered according to the petition, the absence of any definite rule of admission into the Uncovenanted service would open the door to the exercise of patronage, and to the abuse of the power which the measure would place in the hands of the local Governments, and that nepotism would inundate India with incompetents from home. But the forethought of the Memorialists led them to fence round the prayer with conditions, which would secure a well earned advantage to themselves, and yet render any abuse of power or patronage an impossibility. 'The prayer of your Memorialists is on behalf of the Uncovenanted officers of *approved service only*, whose able and faithful discharge of important duties must, in many cases be a better test of qualification for responsible office, than scholastic acquirements alone.' This clause not only shows how the admission into the hitherto exclusive offices might be secured to men best qualified to fill them, so that the interests of Government should be subserved; but it also suggests that, looking to those interests, it is wiser to employ men of practical experience, of tried and proved fitness, than, for the sake of merely supporting a weakened oligarchy and the faded prestige of a once powerful body, to entrust important offices to those whose scholastic acquirements might be admitted, but whose assumed fitness lies in the fact of their being members of the superior service.

In considering different systems, we are apt to assume opposite conditions without sufficient proof. But it must not be supposed, because men of superior scholastic acquirements have been admitted into the Covenanted service under the competition system, that its members, under the former *regime* were deficient in such accomplishments, or that the Uncovenanted service are wholly wanting in intellectual culture. The higher advantages now opening out to the last service, have attracted to it gentlemen of education, which, under more fortunate circumstances, would have placed them on an equal footing with their more favored brethren; and there is no question, that the number of such will increase with the gradual improvements which may be anticipated. The most that can be said of the competitive system is, that the mental discipline which is necessary to arrive at eminence in scholastic acquirements, would probably stand in good stead in the application of the mind to the business of life;

but in this system the adoption of suitable means to a specific end is wholly wanting. Clever lads who have shone in Classics or Mathematics, or have been well crammed for examination in the Sciences, are pushed into positions of administrative importance, or Executive control, and expected to succeed by virtue of their mathematical or classical training. Now, without referring to the natural tendency of the mind to relax its efforts when the object for which its strength was put forth has been attained, there is obviously no preparation in this system for the work to be performed. No sort of provision is made for that training which Lord Wellesley contemplated when he proposed a College for young writers in the heart of their future labors; or better still for that preparation for the higher duties of office which the Uncovenanted service acquire by a familiar practical acquaintance with the various branches of the administration, through means of the early and systematic performance of their subordinate duties.

To return to the Memorial. The two other petitions it contains are, for the relaxation of the existing rules for Leave of Absence for the Uncovenanted Service, which were felt to be unnecessarily stringent, and for a reduction in the period of service qualifying for pension, which was considered too long. The rules for leave of absence for the Covenanted Service, provide for sick leave for a period of three years consecutively, the absentees retaining their appointments for two years. For the first two years of absence they draw half pay, not exceeding £1,000 nor less than £500 per annum, and for the third year £500 are allowed to officers of 10 years' standing, and £250 to those below 10 years. The rules for the Uncovenanted Service also allow three years sick leave in all, but only two years can be consecutive; and before a second leave is granted, a service of two years is necessary. The pay on leave, is half the amount of salary for the first year, not exceeding £600 per annum, and one third of salary after that period. The Uncovenanted Service do not petition for an extension of the period of leave; they are satisfied to have, like the Covenanted Service, three years sick leave during the whole term of service, nor do they ask for any modification of the allowances already granted to them during such absence. All they want is, that the three years leave may be available at one term or by instalments, as it may be required; and the prayer is not unreasonable. There can be no practical good in making it difficult for a servant to obtain temporary rest from his labor under certain general limits, whenever ill health may compel him to seek repose; and the pecuniary loss which

the measure entails, will be a sufficient safeguard against a resort to it on small grounds.

In respect to Furlough, the Covenanted Service are allowed three years, available by instalments after certain periods of service, vacating their Offices, with pay during absence of £500 a year. The Uncovenanted Service are now allowed one year without pay during the whole course of their service, and such absence does not reckon as service. Seeing that the Service is receiving daily accessions from a class to whom furlough is as great a benefit as to the Covenanted Service it is not surprising that the memorialists should pray for two years furlough, on one third salary. It is intended that this privilege shall be fully and fairly earned. They ask that the first grant shall not be made until after 10 years service, and the second not until after a further service of five years; but that after fifteen years of unbroken service furlough should be granted for two years continuously. The present rules of the Uncovenanted Service, in respect to leave on Private Affairs, are the same as those which apply to the Covenanted Service; namely, six months in every six years on half pay, with this difference, that the half pay of the Uncovenanted service is restricted to £600 a year as a maximum. The leave of absence which counts as service in respect to the Covenanted Servant are four years in all—three of furlough and one of sick leave—besides absence on privilege leave and on private affairs. The Uncovenanted Service may, under present rules, claim as service two years of sick leave, besides privilege leave, and leave on private affairs; but with exemplary magnanimity the memorialists give up the advantage of reckoning absence on sick leave as service, and ask to retain this concession only for the period passed on privilege and casual leave. The expediency of foregoing an advantage already yielded by Government, may, perhaps, be questioned; but it affords a proof of the spirit of earnestness and moderation which characterizes the movement. The memorialists also propose, that the present rules be retained for special and privilege leave, which are much the same as those which apply to the Covenanted Service, privilege leave of 1, 2 or 3 months consecutively being granted to both branches of the service, after 11, 22 or 33 months of actual service.

There is no direct analogy between the two branches of the Civil Service in respect to retiring pensions. The members of the Covenanted service quit the service on an annuity purchased by monthly deductions from their salaries, a moiety of the purchase money being contributed by the State; whilst the Uncovenanted Servants retire on a certain

rate of pension granted as a free gift by Government after certain terms of approved service. The conditions at present are, a pension of $\frac{1}{2}$ pay to judicial officers, and officers in the educational Department, after 15 years service under Medical Certificate, and after 20 years to all other Uncovenanted officers. On half pay on Medical Certificate to judicial and educational officers after twenty-two years' service, and to all other Uncovenanted servants after 30 years' service. And a retiring pension of $\frac{1}{2}$ pay to all Uncovenanted officers without Medical Certificate after 35 years' service. Liberal as these concessions are, the protracted terms of service to constitute qualification, greatly diminish their value, and often reduce the prospect of the Uncovenanted servant, to toil and labor unbroken and unremitting, for life. The prayer of the Memorial therefore is, that all sections and departments of the Uncovenanted service should be brought under one uniform code of rules; that service before the age of 21 years shall not reckon as qualifying for pension, and that the period passed on leave of every sort, except casual and privilege, shall also be excluded. This ground-work being established, the Memorialists ask for $\frac{1}{2}$ pay after 15 years' service under Medical Certificate: for half pay after 22 years' service under Medical Certificate, and for a retiring pension of half pay without Medical Certificate after 25 years' service.

The same spirit of moderation which characterized the other petitions of the Memorial is apparent in the prayers relating to Retiring Pensions. This will be admitted when the effects on both mind and body from sustained, hard, active service, frequently combined with severe mental exertion, in a depressing and often sickly tropical climate are considered. In order that undue advantage should not be taken of the privilege of retirement after 25 years, in a service not strictly guided by rules for admission, it is provided that service to reckon for pension shall not commence till the age of 21 years, so that no servant could possibly retire, unless disabled from sickness, till the age of forty-six and then after active service of a full quarter of a century, in the trying and wasting climate of India. But after all it is an advantage placed within the grasp of the few only who might be able to accept it. It is reasonable to suppose that many will continue in the service after they are entitled by rule, to pension. The pleasures of retirement are not to be compared to the advantages of full pay to men whose expensive private and family responsibilities have grown up around them with their increasing means, to maintain which retirement allowances are wholly inadequate; necessity could alone

excuse the sacrifice of income which retirement would entail; and if such necessity did really exist, it would be cruelty to refuse an indulgence purchased at so severe a cost. These remarks apply with still greater force to retirement on Medical Certificate.

The liberality with which the Christian portion of the Uncovenanted Service, who are the chief promoters of this movement, have admitted their native brethren into full participation with themselves, in the advantages they propose, is highly commendable and worthy of special remark.

Equal legislation demands perfect similarity of condition. No system of jurisprudence, no efforts of the most philanthropic statesman can force things into a state of equality which are essentially unequal. The process of raising the inferior to the level of the superior class must be gradual, at the same time it is impossible to depress the superior class without humiliating it and producing the most disastrous consequences to both. The process of assimilation may be promoted, by extending the privilege of the higher to the lower order, which they may by degrees improve to their own benefit, but not by violently conferring equal rights, powers and privileges to all alike, which, in effect, would place the inferior in a position of unnatural and unmerited relative elevation above the superior order. In the Uncovenanted Service, as in the community at large, there is an admixture of the Anglo-saxon and the native. To place both on an equal footing of pay and emoluments, would be to give the native an advantage over the Christian; to put the one at once in a condition of affluence, whilst dooming the other to a far more protracted term of servitude; for it is impossible to deny the correctness of the opinion of the Sudder Court of Madras, that 'it is not too much to compute the value of a rupee to a native at three times what it is to an European.' There is, as has been said, an essential difference of condition in such a case, which defies the application of the principles of equality, without palpable injustice to the higher and better order. But when we turn to the privileges and advantages which the Uncovenanted, as a service, seek, these distinctions and differences of condition vanish, and all may equitably stand on a common platform. There is a self-adjusting principle in the measure, which will operate to adapt the rules to the conditions of every individual member of the service. Nothing is forced; one does not get more than another, or more than he actually requires; but certain privileges are placed within the reach of all alike, and those alone who want them, will avail themselves of them. Why should not a native, actuated by a spirit of laudable

ambition, equally with the European, who may be drawn by family ties and home associations, visit England on furlough, if he can? Or why should Government exact more than the service of a quarter of a century from a native, before he is permitted to retire on half pay, simply because he is a native. If he can labor on in the country of his birth, and amidst all his social ties and connections beyond that period, it is very certain he will do so; and if he cannot, there is no reason why he should not be set at liberty with the proportion of the privileges conceded to the service, which, by a faithful discharge of duty, he may have earned for himself. It is in this principle that the inferior orders, by sharing in, and improving for themselves the advantages of the superior classes, become assimilated to and amalgamated with them.

The Uncovenanted Service may congratulate itself on the prospects which are opening out before it. The blow struck at the patronage of the Covenanted Service, the financial exigencies of the State, and the large demands of the Executive Administration caused by the extension of territory, and the gradual introduction of English institutions into the country, have done for it what no efforts of its own could have accomplished. They have brought about changes which, thirty years ago, would have startled and paralyzed the nerves of the hardest, and most easy going East Indian Uncovenanted servant, if he could have seen them in all their present magnitude and reality.

The opportunity is not to be lost. The better portion of the Uncovenanted Service need not now expect to drudge on in obscurity in the lower ranks. Ability must show itself and rise to the surface. The demands of the Executive Administration which are great must be supplied; and in no direction can the authorities look to supplement the Covenanted Service with such assurance of success, as to the subordinate cognate service, the training of whose members in official details fits them for the higher appointments of executive control.

The demand will create the supply. The concessions sought for in the Memorial if granted will attract men of superior ability, and it is quite within the range of probability that, as the early writers of the Covenanted service rose to fill the highest posts under Government, so the mere copyists, the first representatives of the Uncovenanted Service, may find themselves, in time, occupying positions in the administration of the State, the attainment of which they now view with incredulity, not perhaps unmixed with a feeling of awe at the important trusts, and large responsibilities which they will entail.

We have seen the rise and progress of the Civil Service; we have observed how their originally contracted and limited plans gave way to circumstances, which, unlooked for and undesired, made them masters of an Empire. This mighty Empire has now passed into more legitimate hands, and the great and powerful Oligarchy is dissolved. It is dissolved; but, with trifling changes, the Government and administration of the Company still remain, to undergo revolutions still more surprising perhaps, than any that have yet befallen them. The powerful institution, by means of which the Company worked out its plans, the Covenanted Civil Service also remains; but its patronage is gone, its prestige dimmed. True, it is still a close and exclusive service, but every day we find new avenues opening to admit strangers within its sacred enclosure, and behold profane feet treading the charmed circle. The past official history of India is replete with interest and instruction, but what has been, affords no clue to what is yet to come.

ART. VIII.—*Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on Railways in India, for the year 1860-61, by Juland Danvers, Esq., Secretary Railway Department, India Office 1st May 1861.*

THIS is the second report that has emanated from the able Home Secretary to the Railway Department, and it certainly draws public attention to the important subject, on which it treats, in a very popular manner. Mr. Danvers seems to be a great master of figures, a most perfect statistician: it is curious also to observe the careful manner, in which he obeys the mandates of the people of old, who said to their prophets 'Prophecy unto us smooth things'. We who had all been for months under the belief, that 'our railways' were on the eve of being left to the mercy of the winds and rains, and the shareholders, who always seem to live under a dread of some repudiation as to the interest of their money, are cheered by Mr. Danvers' able statement, breathe freely, and wonder, why the public do not rush to the Stock Exchange and buy their shares for double their real value, that value being just what they will fetch. We open the report and turn twenty-eight pages over, one after the other, and feel dazzled at the mass of figures, met with at every page. Each paragraph seems to lead to another, of greater interest. Thousands of pounds and millions of rupees are talked about in a manner that, at first, seems reckless, but, which upon mature consideration, may be seen to lead to real knowledge of our 'financial state in reference to railways. We are early informed, that at last, Government at Home has stopped the guarantee system, and liberally paid the Oude Railway Company £12,166 0s. 5d, *with interest*, and we hope in exchange, something has been given to Government that may turn up to the advantage, of the local Oude Railway Company. Then we find, notwithstanding Sir C. Wood's statement in the House of Commons, the intentions of the Government of India, have been carried out, and the following important lines are abandoned, or more mildly putting it, postponed.

These are the lines, from

Allahabad to Jubbulpore	..	..	..	..	227
Delhi to Lahore	...	...	...	...	240
Sholapore to Bellary	..	...	...	...	183
<hr/>					
Total miles postponed	...	...	...	...	650

We are consoled however by being told that 'the extent of line now in course of execution is 2,934½ miles, of which 1,353½ miles will probably be opened during the present year. In 1862 almost all the rest will, it is expected, be finished, including the great trunk line from Calcutta to Delhi.' All we can say in reference to this bright picture is, it is a consummation most devoutly to be wished for. We have our misgivings. Even Mr. Danvers in para. 10, honestly states that 'some very formidable works have yet to be finished, which necessarily involve risk of delay.'

The advantage of Indian Railways to England is clear, from the statement in para 12, that during the past year 234,710 tons of materials, costing £2,140,703 were despatched to this country. Add to this the enormous sum of £36,015 as pay of Directors and Engineers in *England*, and we have £2,176,718; but if we turn to page 10 we find 'amount expended by Railway Companies in England, between 1st of May 1860 and 30th April 1861, £2,425,478,' so that we have the large sum of £248,760 unaccounted for. The particulars would stand as in Table I at page 392.

Now we are not prepared for a moment to assume, that these enormous unaccounted for sums, have been spent by the Directors and their friends in dinners at Greenwich and Blackwall, but some explanation is required. Notwithstanding the statement of Mr. Danvers that 354,317£ stood 'to credit of Companies 30th April 1861 (partly estimated)' that gentleman's own figures on the same page show that the Railway Companies, were £236,098 behind the world. Thus:

Amount to credit of Companies 30 April 1860—	2,212,406	
Amount raised up to 30 April 1861... ..	5,841,974	
		8,054,380
Per Contra. Expended in England	2,425,478	
— in India	4,129,872	
— in India (by estimate)	1,735,128	
		8,290,478
Deficiency—		236,098
Add advance par. 22 from Gov.—		682,000
		£ 918,098
Due from Railway Companies 30th April 1861		£ 918,098

The unaccounted expenditure in England, has curious features about it. The Punjaub Company procures 24,106 Tons while the East India Company has 56,448 Tons of materials, and yet, the unaccounted for expenditure is relatively £55,819 against

TABLE I.

RAILWAY COMPANY.	Value of Material.			House and Engi- neering, in England.			Total.			Expended in England.			Not accounted for in Report.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
East Indian,	580,387	0	0	7,900	0	0	588,987	0	0	47,714	0	0
Madras,	206,842	0	0	4,000	0	0	301,442	0	0	33,148	0	0
Great Indian Peninsula,	236,364	12	0	4,750	0	0	241,114	0	0	340,997	0	0
Bombay and Baroda,	335,667	12	3	5,115	0	0	340,782	12	3	344,991	0	0
Scinde,	26,582	6	3	2,200	0	0	28,782	6	3	33,918	0	0
Punjab,	241,210	11	5	2,200	0	0	243,410	11	5	298,230	0	0
Indus Steam Flotilla,	17,215	0	3	1,000	0	0	18,215	0	2	26,085	0	0
Great Southern of India,	118,578	16	1	3,000	0	0	121,578	16	1	129,867	0	0
Calcutta and South Eastern,	74,174	4	4	2,100	0	0	76,274	4	4	42,267	0	0
Eastern Bengal,	213,696	0	0	3,250	0	0	216,946	0	0	238,432	0	0
Totals	2,140,708	2	6	36,015	0	0	2,176,718	2	6	2,425,478	0	0
													317,574	17	2

* This is curious, as the expenditure for material is much in excess of the total statement.

£47,714, and more strange still, the Great Indian Peninsula has only 25,971 Tons and its unexplained expenditure is nearly £100,000. The Bombay and Baroda having purchased 32,980 Tons, has only £4,208 unaccounted for. We are quite unable to explain, and must leave to the ingenuity of our readers the solution of these discrepancies. It is a curious question to ask, if the progress be made in the Indian Railway System, that is contemplated for 1861-62 1862-63, what is to become of the English establishments now costing nearly £40,000 per annum? It has been said, that in olden times, Railway Directors turned cab-drivers. A note of warning has evidently been sounded, for we read that a reduction of £500 has been made. When once a line is opened in this Country, what is wanted with Boards of Directors and consulting Engineers? and if in 1864-65 the expenditure of all the Companies in England will only amount to £100,000, the establishment at their present rate would cost 30 per cent. The Directors may try and keep alive the idea of their being required for extensions, but if we mistake not, the guarantee system has exhausted itself. It has moreover worked so badly in many ways, that in India it has few friends; as may be seen by the fact, that out of the £35,000,000 raised for Indian Railways, only £669,000 has been subscribed in India, and of that, we may say, not a tenth is by native Capitalists. So far as the majority of the Railway Officers in India are concerned, we believe they are indifferent as to whether they serve a Company or Government. We know of some good men of the Engineer Staff having endeavoured to obtain an exchange to the Public Works Department; as for non-professional men, they care for little beside their monthly stipends. We may state here, that the amount of capital which it has been thought prudent not to subscribe for abandoned lines, is £7,500,000 We give in page 394 a statement showing the Estimated Expenditure on Railways during the year 1861—1862 in England and in India. This statement gives us some information that may be new even to the highest authorities in India. It explains the sums advanced by Government to various Companies who were unable to raise funds. The account stands thus:—

	£
Madras 	250,000
Scinde 	48,000
Bombay and Baroda	364,000
Calcutta and South Eastern ...	20,000
Total	<hr/> 682,000

TABLE II.

RAILWAY COMPANY.	AMOUNTS WHICH IT IS ESTIMATED IN INDIA WILL BE ADVANCED BY GOVERNMENT.		Amount required for England.	Total	BALANCES PARTLY ESTIMATED ON THE 30TH APRIL 1861.		Amount which can be raised by calls.	Amount to be raised by Companies or lent by the Government.
	Rupees.	Amounts debited to the (Railway companies in Pounds.			To the credit of the Companies.	To the debit of the Companies.		
East Indian Bengal, ...	Rs. 20,000,000	1,832,333	£ 414,050	£ 3,055,841	225,000	...	£ 36,000	£ 2,794,841
North Western Provinces, ...	8,813,000	807,868	...	...	...	250,000	Nil	1,859,788
Madras, ...	7,626,000	689,050	£ 410,743	£ 1,108,793	369,000	...	800,000	483,832
Great Indian Peninsula, ...	13,600,000	1,246,065	407,000	1,662,832	...	48,000	Nil	259,960
Sinde, ...	1,950,000	178,750*	38,200	211,950	3,500	...	Nil	83,083
Indus Flotilla, ...	700,000	64,166	28,000	90,583	350,000	...	350,000	Nil
Punjab, ...	2,405,212	220,477	121,200	341,677	...	364,000	25,700	932,300
Bombay and Baroda, ...	5,400,000	495,000	100,000	595,000	72,000	...	124,000	357,049
Eastern Bengal, ...	4,400,000	403,333	168,316	571,849	...	20,000	Nil	144,633
Calcutta and South Eastern, ...	1,000,000	81,666	28,800	124,633	4,000	...	25,000	112,058
Great Southern of India, ...	1,285,000	117,791	23,267	141,058	...	...	...	...
Total ...	67,179,212	6,158,089	1,788,176	7,905,016	1,028,500	682,000	1,360,700	6,543,139

This £682,000 was advanced out of the loan of three millions, borrowed at the close of the last session of Parliament for the Railways, so that there must have been a balance of £2,318,000, which, with the five millions now borrowed, leaves at the disposal of Government £7,318,000; and as the total expenditure anticipated during 1861-62 is £8,000,000 the Companies need only raise £682,000; but we anticipate some of the Companies will try to raise their own funds, and will probably succeed to the following extent.

Company	By Calls	By Debentures
East Indian	36,000	2,794,841
Great Indian Peninsula ...	800,000	483,832
Eastern Bengal . . .	124,000	357,649
Southern of India ..	25,000	112,058
Punjab ..	359,000	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,635,000	3,748,380
		<hr/>
		1,335,000
		<hr/>
Total that will be raised by Railway Companies.	} 5,083,380	

We do not think we are too sanguine in anticipating that this amount will be obtained: perhaps the East Indian, may require a short loan, to enable them to make their financial arrangements; but Glynn & Co., Prescott & Co., Bevan & Co., Smith, Payne & Co. and several other large banks are known to have large accumulations of Indian Bond interest, belonging to their constituents, which will find investment in the East Indian Line. With this contemplated assistance, Government will only have to supply £2,916,620 out of the £7,318,000 which we have clearly shown, is now unappropriated, leaving a balance of £4,401,380; and with Mr. Laing's financial statement, showing our income equal to our expenditure, what use, we would ask, is to be made of this most useful sum of money? It has long been the wish of the Government of India to make its own Railways, and it would appear that some of this money might at once be applied for the purpose. Some tramways in Calcutta, some railroads in Oude and Rohilcund have long been under consideration, some systematic net-work of metalled roads, and notwithstanding the bountiful supply of rain with which we have this season been blessed, special irrigation works might be assisted. At least, we hope Government will use the money for the country's good.

We have pointed out some very extraordinary things in Mr. Danvers' report, which require explanation, and, no doubt, they will be attended to; but we are certain that the Secretary is fully justified in taking the cheering view he does of our future in reference to Railways. Some Companies indeed are helplessly insolvent, particularly the Madras, and the Bombay and Baroda, and perhaps some lines, when opened, will cause great disappointment, and give rise to a line of action little expected at present. Yet our Railway system must be extended and there appears little doubt the English Parliament will be glad to assist us if necessary. One most serious matter to the Government and the Shareholders is the Guaranteed Interest, and we confess we were rather startled at the statement, showing the amount of Guaranteed Interest paid to the Railway Companies up to the 31st December last. We can conceive nothing, more likely to give confidence to Shareholders than such a statement, and we are much obliged to Mr. Danvers for his concise compilation, which we here give in Table III.

TABLE III.

COMPANIES.	Interest paid to 31st Dec. 1869; England and India.	INTEREST PAID IN 1860.			Total amount of interest paid to 31st December 1860.
		England.	India.	Total.	
	£	£	£	£	£
East Indian,	2,069,189	666,870	...	666,870	2,736,059
Eastern Bengal,	29,841	25,703	...	25,703	55,544
Calcutta and South Eastern,	5,320	8,722	...	8,722	14,042
Madras,	563,116	214,976	...	214,976	778,092
Great Southern of India,...	5,466	13,709	...	13,708	19,169
Great Indian Peninsula, ...	909,471	289,747	8,610	298,357	1,207,828
Bombay and Baroda, ...	137,970	93,966	476	94,442	232,412
Sicinde,	105,450	53,469	501	53,970	159,420
Punjab,	40,223	33,180	...	33,180	73,403
Indus Steam Flotilla, ...	11,171	12,569	...	12,569	33,740
Totals	3,877,217	1,412,905	9,587	1,422,492	5,299,709

The annual earnings of the Railways, on the 30th June 1860 amounted to about £318,310. Those for the year ending 30th June next, may probably amount to £400,000 which will be set off against the sum to be paid by Government for the guarantee. The Report also gives the number of Shareholders of Indian Railway Stock as 17,118 in 1860, while the year before, the number of Shareholders was 15,224, so that there has been an increase of one thousand eight hundred and ninety four, 638 among the larger, that is, those holding more than the value of £1,000, and 1,356 among the smaller proprietors holding less than £1,000. The share capital, in the same period, had increased from £22,920,000 to £25,887,057.

Having taken this hasty review of the financial position of the Railway Companies, as laid down by Mr. Danvers, we will turn to the "Traffic" operations of the three Companies; viz, East Indian, Great Indian Peninsula and Madras. Without particularizing the traffic of each line, we will content ourselves by giving the 'Statements,' relating to the combined traffic of the three Railways, which will be found in pp. 398, 399 and 400.

We make no apology for giving these 'Statements,' as their value, is undoubted, and they are not obtainable in this country, they lead us also to a real knowledge of the steady advancement of the Railway System. It is pleasant to observe how every thing is on the increase. While, however, the three main lines give us hopes of future well-doing, the Home Secretary honestly gives us a picture less promising, in the details of the Bombay and Baroda Line, where upon 29 miles, which cost about £500,000 the traffic of twenty one weeks produced £609 19s profit or about £1508 per annum instead of 25,000£. But, in this case, as in all others, where the features of the calculation may be very disheartening, Mr. Danvers comes forward with some encouraging explanation, and he says.

'In February last, 29 miles of the Bombay and Baroda Railway were opened for traffic, but, inasmuch as both ends of the line terminated on the opposite sides of the rivers to the towns which the Railway is to connect, the traffic was commenced under very disadvantageous circumstances, and was confined almost entirely to passenger traffic. The results, therefore, can form no criterion of what the traffic will be when the Railway is carried across the Taptee and Nurbudda Rivers. The Bridge over the former is now completed, and trains are running over it. The latter will, it is expected, be in the same position in June next'—In reference to the ratio of working expences to receipts on the East Indian Line, we learn the

STATEMENT No.

Statement showing the General Traffic Operations of the three Railways combined, for the years 1859-1860.

Year ending 30th June.	Miles open.	RAILWAY.	NUMBER OF PASSENGERS.			Receipts from Passengers.	Receipts from Merchandise.	Receipts for Railway Materials.	Total.	Working Expenses.	Net Profit.
			1st class.	2nd class.	3rd class.	Total.					
1860	733	399 East Indian, " 297 Great Indian Peninsula, " 187 Madras, "	33,792	254,212	3,549,324	3,837,324	290,061	69,925	586,928	288,148	308,190
1859	433	142 East Indian, " 194 Great Indian Peninsula, " 96 Madras, "	28,878	176,823	3,516,683	3,722,382	168,285	56,709	382,495	187,085	195,390
		Increase of year 1860 over year 1859	4,919	77,389	1,032,737	1,114,942		6,116	203,903	96,063	107,890

STATEMENT No. 2.

Statement showing the number of Passengers per mile in the three Railways ; during the years ending 30th June 1859 and 1860.

Year ending.	On the East Indian.	On the Great Indian Peninsula.	On the Madras.	Average on the Three Lines.
30th June 1860	10,883	4,359	5,397	7,044
„ 1859	9,561	5,987	3,009	6,533

STATEMENT No. 3.

Statement showing the Proportion per cent. of Passengers, contributed per mile by each, of the three companies, during the years 30th June 1859 and 1860.

Year ending.	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.
30th June 1860 ...	49.9	20.0	30.1
„ 1859 ...	48.6	41.2	10.2

STATEMENT No. 4.

Statement showing the Proportion per cent. of Passengers conveyed in each class ; by the three companies combined, during the years 1859 and 1860.

Year ending.	1st class.	2nd class.	3rd class.
30th June 1860 ...	0.8	6.4	92.8
„ 1859 ...	1.2	8.2	90.6

STATEMENT No. 5.

Statement showing the Total Receipts, Working Expenses, and Net Profits of the three Railways for the years 1858-59 and 1859-60.

YEAR ENDING.	RECEIPTS FROM PASSENGERS.				RECEIPTS FROM MERCHANDISE.				RECEIPTS FOR RAILWAY MATERIALS.				
	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.	Total.	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.	Total.	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.	Total.	Total Receipts.
30th June 1860 ...	£ 118,047	£ 72,747	£ 85,448	£ 220,842	£ 174,881	£ 81,267	£ 40,513	£ 296,661	£ 25,287	£ 27,063	£ 9,805	£ 62,295	£ 596,393
" " 1859 ...	73,947	60,785	22,299	157,031	71,980	57,079	39,230	168,285	21,525	25,567	5,617	53,709	382,435
Increase of year 1860 over year 1859.	£ 44,600	£ 11,962	£ 13,149	£ 69,811	£ 102,901	£ 24,188	£ 1,287	£ 128,376	£ 3,762	less than in 1859	£ 4,278	£ 6,116	£ 203,908

Working Expenses.

Year ending	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.	Total working Expenses.	Total Profits.
30th June 1860	£ 146,636	£ 106,786	£ 29,716	£ 283,143	£ 303,180
" " 1859	103,616	65,491	17,958	187,065	195,380
Increase of year 1860 over year 1859	43,020	41,305	11,758	96,083	107,800

curious fact, that that ratio was lowest in 1857, the year of the mutiny; it has since risen to more than it was in 1856. The Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula do not give so elaborate a statement, contenting themselves with saying that the ratio in 1859 was 58.3 and in 1860 it was 60.5. The Madras likewise represents the ratio in 1859 as 53.5 and in 1860 as 58.7. Whatever may be the bad features of any particular case, or whatever general cause of mistrust there may be, in the Home Secretary's Report, may be found some healing hope and comfort, to encourage all to look forward to a happy consummation. In reference to the "General Traffic results" he says.

'Although these statements exhibit satisfactory results as regards increased traffic, and indicate an improved policy with respect to the regulation of fares and the adaptation of the Railways to the peculiar circumstances of the country, their remunerative powers cannot safely be determined until the lines are completed from end to end, and are in fair working order. The East Indian may be taken as an example. Calculations have hitherto been made on the assumption that the cost would be about £12,000 a mile, but it is now estimated that it will be upwards of £16,000 a mile; so that, instead of a revenue of £802,950, to produce a profit of five per cent, there must be a revenue of £1,100,000. Judgment must, accordingly, be suspended until all the materials for calculation are attainable. But advertent to the increase of traffic that has already taken place on the broken sections of line which have been opened from time to time, and to the average amount of working expences, which will probably be further gradually reduced by the employment of native skill and labor, and by the use of native fuel, there is good ground for the hope that the increase in the original estimate of their cost will not prevent them from being remunerative.'

Captain Stanton, consulting Engineer to the Government of Bengal enables Mr. Danvers and ourselves to state, 'that out of 3,112,500 passengers, five have been killed. One, on the East Indian, was a syce in charge of Government Horses, who, sitting in a dangerous position, was knocked off the carriage, and received injuries which caused his death. The other four were travelling on the Great Indian Peninsula, when five carriages were thrown off the line in consequence of a bridge giving way.' Considering the difficulties to be overcome in organizing an efficient traffic management, we think the result most satisfactory and commendable; the result bears comparison, to its advantage, with the earlier days of Railway management in England. From an old number of the *Quarterly Review*, we find 'that

'within the year 1843, seventy railroads, constructed at an outlay of £60,000,000 have conveyed 25,000,000 passengers 330,000,000 miles, at the average cost of $1\frac{1}{4}$ a mile and with but one fatal passenger accident'—But by this calculation each passenger need only have travelled 10 miles, or a little more, and though we have not the united train run of the Indian Lines placed before us, we are, from our knowledge, entitled to assume, that each passenger on an average travels half the length of any line he proceeds upon, and so we find 3,112,500 passengers travelled 1,123,612,500 miles, and assuming, as in England, there had been 25,000,000 passengers, they would have travelled more than 9,000,000,000 miles and would have admitted of upwards of 30 deaths, while five deaths for the distance, run only just exceeds the result in the early days of Railway travelling in England.—To draw a comparison of the number of passengers 'killed and injured' in the Indian and English Series without a statement of the miles run, seems unfair in the extreme, for the greater number of miles passed over by the passengers must increase the risk. Mr. Danvers informs us that the average number of passengers on Lines in great Britain is 139,000,000 and the proportion of killed and injured is

	Killed	Injured
In India... ..	1.28.	1.92.
In England... ..	0.15.	6.19.

Now, if the increase of mileage in England since 1843, is equal to the increase of passengers, we should have to multiply the miles run rather more than five times which would give 1,650,000,000 miles run, against 1,123,612,500 in India. Such calculation is very suggestive during the early stages of our Railway System.

Our space warns us, that though the subject of 'Our Railways' is one of momentous consequence, we must draw our remarks to a close, but before doing so would echo the praise, most justly given from home through Mr. Danvers' report to all those who have labored in this country. Lord Canning has done justice to the East Indian Railway Engineers, in his letter to Sir Charles Wood, found reprinted in the Report under notice. That mistakes have been made, there is no question, but how could many of them have been avoided? We have stations built in the North West Provinces, that would make fit palaces for the Governor General, and who are they for? For the 1,500,000 passengers whose pride is to be half naked, but who are favored with these luxuries, we presume, to induce them to improve a little upon their domestic architecture. No one is to blame, it is

the system. A favorite assistant of the late lamented Mr. Brunel finds himself called upon to design a station for some important town the emporium of a large and recently acquired province; he is supposed to be checked (or whatever other term best explains the position of a Government consulting Engineer) by an Officer of the Bengal Engineers, who is acknowledged to be one of the best judges of architecture in the Corps; and it would be a disgrace to them both, considering they had besides the assistance of an architect of repute, if they did not rear a building that is the wonder and admiration of thousands of the staring half-naked natives. Mr. Berkely of the Great Indian Peninsula, whose early efforts to popularize the Railway in the columns of the "*Bombay Quarterly*," must be fresh in the minds of many Indian readers, receives also deserved praise. An elaborate paper by this gentleman is largely quoted in the Appendix of Mr. Danvers' Report, in which his name and ill health, are identified with the ascents of the Bhore and Thulghaut inclines. The Agent and Manager of the Madras Railway also contributes a paper upon the supply of Engine Drivers and other skilled officials who are very scarce, and whose duties it is by no means easy to teach. But yet all the difficulties that have accompanied the introduction of Railways in India, will, we doubt not, be overcome and the country benefitted by the results. Large, expensive stations have been built, which perhaps are unnecessary, but let us hope as a recompence, some stations will have to be enlarged to accommodate unexpected traffic. Bridges have fallen down, which were built by Railway Engineers, as bridges have fallen down built by others, but they are built up again, and in the end, we hope, all will be right. The system of guaranteed interest and the control consequent upon it, has been unpopular with both parties to the contract, and it may be a happy circumstance, that it is virtually at an end. Judging from what we now see put forth by the Home Government, the loaves and fishes, have been plentiful to the Railway Employés in England, while constant complaints are made of the want of generosity to the members of the scientific staff in this country. It was supposed that the Railway service in India was a lucrative one; we are now certain, had the same men come out to India to make Railways for the Government, their positions would have been more popular and still more lucrative. We know men who have served Companies for seven years, without a day's absence from their most arduous duties, and yet have received notice of dismissal with less compliment or thanks from the Company they have served,

than would be given to a common, but faithful underling. This would never have been the case had it been a Government service.

The report we have had under consideration is the production of Mr. Juland Danvers, Secretary, Railway Department; but it may tend to explain matters, if we relate that there is in connection with the Railways an ex-officio Director and that this post was held from the commencing of the Railways, by Sir James Cosmo Melvill, the news of whose death has lately reached us. It was first held by him, when Secretary to the late Court of Directors and after his retirement from that office, it was still considered of importance to Government interests that he should retain his position on behalf of Government towards the companies. So that though to Mr. Danvers, is due our thanks, for his most interesting and able contribution to our meagre stock of information connected with our Railways, we must not forget the able gentleman who long held the appointment, which commands and organizes the information. Mr. Danvers has succeeded Sir James Melvill and we can only hope, that we shall not on this account be deprived of our annual Report.

Let us observe in conclusion that while complaints are general, that if Government does not do some thing to assist the Railways by making roads, their full benefit can never be secured, we can say as truly that if the Indian Government do not make their own Railways, in extension of those at present under construction, they must expect their revenue materially to suffer. We extract the following timely warning from the report that has afforded us so much interest and will amply repay all, who obtain it for perusal.

'The interest alike of the Government, of the Railway Companies, and of the public, would be sacrificed by the suspension of operations in the present condition of the lines. Not only would a large outlay remain unprofitable, but positive loss would be incurred by the damage to, and even destruction of, unfinished works, if left to the mercy of the elements in a tropical climate. Never was there a time more pregnant than the present with proofs of the necessity for a sure and permanent system of internal communication in India. Whether we look to the lamentable accounts of the famine, now desolating the North-West Provinces, or to the anxiety with which passing events in America are being watched by our manufacturers, and to the temporary and necessarily imperfect measures which are being taken by the Local Governments to aid the transport of Indian Cotton to this country, or whether adverting to the large European force now destined to garrison the country, we consider the

‘safety, ease and economy which would be secured by the conveyance of troops by Railway, the early completion of the main lines which have been sanctioned appears to be a matter of paramount importance, and to admit of no delay.’

